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# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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VOLUME XIX

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA  
1923

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From Its Exploration  
To 1918

IN TWO VOLUMES, 1,120 PAGES

BY

LOGAN ESAREY

Associate Professor of Western History in Indiana  
University

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# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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## Personal Politics In Indiana 1816 to 1840

By ADAM A. LEONARD

Indiana became a state at the very time the nation was divorcing itself from the European political and economic systems and entering upon a career purely American in policy. The downfall of Napoleon and the close of the War of 1812 had freed us from European chicanery. The energy and intellect of the country were thence to be spent in developing the resources of the interior. The successful termination of the war and the following "Era of Good Feeling" made the Republican the popular party, while on the other hand the Federalist opposition to the war and especially the Hartford Convention made that party and its leaders particularly unpopular. As a result party lines disappeared and for more than a decade personal politics controlled the country both nationally and locally. In this period all claimed to be Republicans; none would accept the name Federalist. The elections were waged about the personality of men or upon local or passing issues.<sup>1</sup>

In 1816, at the very beginning of this period of personal politics, Indiana became a state. Of its small population, numbering only 147,600 in 1820, a very few were natives of the state.<sup>2</sup> The emigrants, largely of Scotch-Irish or German descent, had come up from the Carolinas or Virginia by way

<sup>1</sup> For illustration read Ch. xxii, Hall's *New Purchase*. For an opposite view read Smith's *Indiana Miscellany*, ch. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 21, 1821.

of the Wilderness road through Tennessee and Kentucky, had drifted down the Ohio river, or had come overland through Pennsylvania and Ohio. This small community was practically a self-supporting farming class, depending upon the outside world for those things only which household industry could not produce. Commerce with the outside world was therefore limited. In 1810 Indiana had one newspaper and only fifteen in 1828.<sup>3</sup> Indianapolis had its first daily mail, established between that city and Dayton, Ohio, in 1836. Postage rates, usually paid by the one receiving the letter,<sup>4</sup> were very high, resulting in the post offices being filled with unclaimed letters. There were two hundred such letters at one time in 1816 in the Vincennes post office, while the *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, published in that town; contained in its headlines for several years the notice that all letters addressed to the editor must be postpaid or they would not be taken out of the office.<sup>5</sup> The conditions of travel as late as 1826 were described by a politician canvassing for votes in that year, as, "No roads, nothing but Indian paths, sleep in Indian huts, swim ponies over streams, use Indian guides, build canoes, sleep in woods with wolves howling, make one speech and return home."<sup>6</sup>

Until 1824 the people of the state voted directly for only one federal official, a congressman. In 1816 the Indiana presidential electors were chosen by the state legislature sitting at Corydon. Again in 1820 the electors were chosen in the same manner, the people knowing nothing about it.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, July 12, 1828.

<sup>4</sup> Postage rates, letter postage:

Any distance to 40 miles-----	8c	for each sheet
40 to 90 miles-----	10c	for each sheet
90 to 150 miles-----	12½c	for each sheet
150 to 300 miles-----	17c	for each sheet
300 to 500 miles-----	20c	for each sheet
500 and over-----	25c	for each sheet

Newspaper postage:

1 cent per mile to 100 miles.

1½ cents per paper for any distance over 100 miles.

1 cent anywhere within the state where printed.

*Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 16, 1816.

<sup>5</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 16, 1816.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Trials and Sketches*, 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 85. O. H. Smith, one of the state's most wide-awake politicians said:

"The first notice I had that there had been a presidential election was from an extract in our Connersville newspaper taken from the Corydon paper, giving the names of the electors and giving the vote of the state for James Monroe and

In 1824 the state legislature provided for the election of electors by popular vote.<sup>8</sup> Along with this lack of direct participation in national affairs there was a very deep-rooted patriotism of the extreme democratic type. This was most manifest in an almost insane hatred of Federalists and everything connected therewith. The same things that had caused Jefferson to call some of the Federalist leaders Anglo-men<sup>9</sup> and had caused Monroe to brand their actions as treason<sup>10</sup> was sufficient to cause those western pioneers to despise the name in any manner that it might be applied. In the first decade of the state's history a Mr. John Allen was fined a thousand dollars in the Franklin circuit court for calling Joshua Harlan a Federalist.<sup>11</sup> In the course of the trial the leading witness for the plaintiff swore that the common acceptance of the term Federalist was, a Tory, an enemy of his country, and that he had never heard any other meaning; that he would rather be called anything under the sun than a Federalist; and that he would feel just as safe in the woods with an Indian and his tomahawk as with a Federalist. The lawyers in their argument covered the field of American history, touching the administration of Washington, the election of Jefferson, the contest between Jefferson and Burr, the case of Citizen Genet, the Cunningham Correspondence,<sup>12</sup> Alien, Sedition and Gag laws, impeachment of Judge Chase, the trial of Burr for treason and other kindred points. This hatred of Federalists endured for more than a quarter of a century being used by the Democrats as a campaign cry against the Whigs as late as 1840.<sup>13</sup> These widely scattered, patriotic, liberty loving frontiersmen furnished the most fruitful field for the development of a new American spirit, typified by the Jacksonian democracy.

The most conspicuous figure in the state in 1816 was Jonathan Jennings, a wirepuller who manipulated the popular

Daniel D. Tompkins. And yet as good and quiet an administration followed as any that is likely to be produced by our exciting elections of today."

<sup>8</sup> *Revised Statutes, 1824*, p. 174.

<sup>9</sup> *Writings of Jefferson*, Ford, X, 83.

<sup>10</sup> *Nile's Register*, May 15, 1824.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Trials and Sketches*, 120.

<sup>12</sup> Letters written by John Adams to a friend, touching the nature of our government and attacking Jefferson and the Republicans. See Ford *Writings of Jefferson*, X, 272.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Trials and Sketches*, 252.

elections. He was a poor speaker, but he attended well to business in Congress.<sup>14</sup> His rise dates from the first campaign for territorial delegate to congress, after the separation of Indiana and Illinois territories.

With the adoption of a state constitution the issues which had divided parties disappeared. Even the *Western Sun*, a few months before the constitution was adopted, ceased its attacks upon Jennings long enough to say:

It were well if instead of the bitterness and contumely of party contentions, men would learn to cultivate the amiable and endearing ties of good friendship—to permit party passions to pollute the sacred fountain of friendship and extend its baleful breath into the sweetest comforts of society is robbing life of half its fleeting joys. Is the path of life so carpeted with bliss that one need press the course of discontent into its transitory period? To soften the asperity which a difference in political opinion sometimes produces in the heart should be the study of every man whatever his sentiments and whatsoever his situation.

In the same issue the *Western Sun* published a letter by a citizen of Gibson county on the subject of the constitutional convention in which he says:

Lay aside, fellow citizens, all party bickerings, all local considerations, all personal prejudices or prepossessions and vote independently for the men that are most capable of discharging that important duty. Select men of talent and integrity, if such can be found, and all is well. You are free and ought to act as free men. You have nothing to guard yourselves against more than an improper indulgence of your prejudices and prepossessions.

More than a year later the *Western Sun* was able to say in an editorial:

Political parties are forgetting their animosities and extinguishing those fierce contentions that have so long triumphed over patriotism and reason. We hail the period of their decline as the harbinger of better days.<sup>15</sup>

The first state election, held on the first Monday in August, 1816, reflects this spirit of conciliation. On November 4 the newly-elected legislature met in Corydon. Three days later the two houses met in joint session, canvassed the returns and

<sup>14</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Trials and Sketches*, 86.

<sup>15</sup> June 14, 1817.

declared Jonathan Jennings elected governor; Christopher Harrison, a native of Maryland and a citizen of the Daniel Boone type, lieutenant governor, and William Hendricks as the temporary representative in congress. The next day the two houses met again in joint session and elected James Noble, a native of Kentucky, of Virginia ancestry, and a partisan of Jennings, as one United States senator, and Waller Taylor, the bitter enemy of Jennings, as the other.<sup>16</sup> O. H. Smith said of politics at the time:

Affairs of the state were in the hands of three parties or rather one party with three divisions—the Noble, Jennings, and Hendricks divisions which were all fully represented in the convention that formed the constitution of 1816. It was evident to the leaders that personal politics must arise between them unless the proper arrangements were made to avoid them. It was agreed between them to aid each other in making Noble United States senator, Jennings governor, and Hendricks congressman. There were three judges to be appointed to the supreme court. Each subdivision was entitled to one. General Noble selected Jesse L. Holman, a good lawyer and one of the most just and conscientious men I ever knew. Governor Jennings selected John Johnson, a fine lawyer and an excellent man. Governor Hendricks named James Scott of Clark county, a Pennsylvanian, one of the purest men of the State and a fine lawyer.<sup>17</sup>

A mere agreement among leaders was not enough, however, to secure an election. Jennings was opposed in his race for governor by Thomas Posey the territorial governor who had the support of the old Harrison adherents. Hendricks was opposed by A. D. Thom, collector of revenue at Jeffersonville, who pledged himself to support the administration if elected,<sup>18</sup> and by George Rogers Clark Sullivan who pledged himself to discharge the duties of office to the satisfaction of the people.<sup>19</sup> A few days before the election (August 3) Sullivan withdrew in favor of Thom. The contests were based largely upon the personal popularity of the candidates. The campaign was marked by open letters abusive of the opposing candidates, and by open letters by the candidates themselves. Jennings was closely questioned about his attitude toward

<sup>16</sup> Woolen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, 160.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 84.

<sup>18</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, July 27, 1816.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13, 1816.

matters of local importance, while he was territorial delegate.<sup>20</sup> The election resulted in a complete victory for the triumvirate.<sup>21</sup> This gave them good reasons to attempt to remove the personal opposition to them by appointing the leaders of the opposition, Johnson and Taylor, to office.

The early settlers of Indiana were intensely Democratic in their political doctrines. As a result office tenure under the constitution, was for short periods, thereby necessitating frequent elections. The members of the state house of representatives were elected annually and held annual sessions.<sup>22</sup> The state senators were elected for terms of three years, one-third their number retiring each year. The governor and lieutenant governor served for terms of three years. The sheriff and coroner were elected for terms of two years. Judges of the circuit court served for seven years, and justices of the peace for five years, while township elections were triennial. With congressional elections occurring every two years and national elections every four years the citizen had the questions of politics constantly before him. This was all the more true since the township elections occurred in the spring (first Monday in April), while the other regular state elections were held on the first Monday in August.

The methods were the most characteristic features of the politics of the day. In the absence of organized parties and party machinery, candidates announced themselves for office through the columns of the newspapers or by printed handbills which were distributed from house to house. In the earlier years these announcements were generally very profuse in their praise of the candidate though the exceptions were common.

As an example we find General Washington Johnson, early in July announcing as a candidate in a very ordinary notice:<sup>23</sup>

General W. Johnson will serve the citizens of Knox county, if a majority of them by their vote request him, in the next session of the legislature.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, July 17, 1816.

<sup>21</sup> The vote, Jennings 5211, Posey 3936.

<sup>22</sup> State Constitution, Art. 3, sec. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, July 5, 1817.

A month later, on the eve of the election he published a more profuse declaration:<sup>24</sup>

## CITIZENS OF KNOX

An American, a child of your State, and a friend of your rights, now offers his services to represent you in the legislature. His qualifications are so well known they need no comment. His principles both religious and political have been tested and passed the Rubison. Such a one now solicits your suffrages and if he becomes the object of your choice, promises that he will serve you faithfully and render an account of his conduct.

Vincennes, Aug. 4th, 1817.

GENERAL W. JOHNSTON.

From the time announcements were made until election day handbills were circulated and newspapers were full of long articles, which were almost all signed with fictitious names, either praising the candidates or making direct personal attacks upon them. Quite often these letters were filled with questions of the most personal nature. The following extract from a letter to Isaac Blackford of Knox county is a fair example of such questions:<sup>25</sup>

We should be glad if Mr. Isaac Blackford will condescend to inform the people of Knox whether he did or did not state a *positive falsehood* in his reply to Independent Freeman, when he says:—

The good campaigner not only had to meet successfully these newspaper attacks, but had to meet all kinds of rumors and false reports that were purposely circulated by his opponents. O. H. Smith has given us the best picture of what campaigning really was. If we may take the case of Merritt S. Craig of Versailles, Ripley county, as an example.<sup>26</sup> Mr. Craig was a native Kentuckian from Boone county. He entered politics young, was a member of the house of representatives for several terms, a great electioneer. Once, just before election, chances looked desperate. Others regarded his defeat as certain. All kinds of reports were circulated against him through the county. The last week had come and something must be done or he was defeated. Craig saw his time. Stepping into a grocery [saloon] he turned over the counter, broke

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, Aug. 5, 1817.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, Aug. 9, 1817.

<sup>26</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 131.

all the bottles, took the faucet out of the whiskey barrel, threw the grocer out of the door, but paid him for his property. The news spread like wildfire over the county. All other stories were merged into the grocery matter. The act was decidedly popular, as drinking houses were odious. Mr. Craig was elected by a larger majority than ever before, although he was not a temperance man.

The ignorance of the people about the common national issues made their mention by candidates extremely hazardous. O. H. Smith relates two very amusing incidents of the congressional campaign of 1826. Judge John Test was his competitor :

The judge was speaking in favor of the tariff. The people knew but little about it, but what they had heard was decidedly against it. Few knew the meaning of the word and fewer what it was like. One old fellow said that he had never seen one but he believed it was hard on sheep.<sup>27</sup>

At another time in the same campaign the two candidates met at Allenville in Switzerland county. In the course of his speech Judge Test mentioned for the first time the new subject of railroads. He told the crowd that cars were running at the rate of thirty miles an hour in England and would run even faster in America. This was too much for the crowd. It set up a loud laugh at the expense of the Judge and one old fellow yelled at him: "You are crazy, or do you think we are all fools? A man could not live a moment at that speed." The judge ruined his chances in that county by telling such an improbable story.

In the campaign of 1817 the most conspicuous figure was William Hendricks. In the election of 1816 he had succeeded Jennings as territorial delegate, but with the formal recognition of statehood it became necessary to elect a state representative to congress. Hendricks of course, was the choice of the leaders who were in control. The opposition began its fight on him at the earliest possible moment. The *Indiana Herald*, attempted to secure the appointment as public printers for Indiana and failed.<sup>28</sup> It immediately began a personal

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>28</sup> Printed in Corydon, 1815 to 1818. Its policy was opposition to the Jennings regime.

attack upon Hendricks for using his influence in favor of the state militia.<sup>29</sup> It announced on March 5, a caucus to be held in Corydon on March 15 to nominate a candidate in opposition to Hendricks. Only a few attended the caucus and no selection was made. Another caucus was called for April 28. Its purpose was not well understood and the caucus plan was bitterly attacked in the *Western Sun* on March 29, in a letter signed "Vesuvius." On May 10 the *Herald* tried to justify this method of selection, but finding its course unpopular abandoned it. On May 24, one of its editors, Ruben A. Nelson, announced himself as a candidate for congressman. In his letter announcing himself Mr. Nelson says:

I shall neither attempt to insult your judgment by eulogizing on my talents nor disgust your feelings by a parade of my integrity.<sup>30</sup>

Then he passed on to the right of a constituency to instruct its representatives, where he made a deliberate thrust at those in control. He said:

What constitutes this instruction? Is it the noisy declaration of a few factious demagogues? Is it the expressed will of a few partisans in the corner of a district? Is it the report of those busy characters who pretend to know every man's mind and every man's business? Most certainly it would be not only in derogation of his duty but ridiculous for a representative to listen to such instructions. The very gist, substance, and force of the instruction is contained in the suffrages which constitute the agency. Private interest feelings and obligation must therefore always yield to the paramount rights of the public.

His candidacy apparently met but a feeble response, for about a month and a half later, he withdrew and Thomas Posey announced himself as candidate, saying in his letter to the public that he yielded to the wishes of his friends in consenting to serve if elected.<sup>31</sup> Hendricks said in a public letter after the election:

Governor Posey was brought forward by my avowed and inveterate enemies, who have practiced everything but fair dealings to destroy me. He suffered himself to be taken up, if report be true, contrary to his wishes and certainly contrary to his interests, for he had and still has

<sup>29</sup> See Hendricks' open letter in the *Indiana Republican*, Sept. 16, 1817.

<sup>30</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, June 7, 1817.

<sup>31</sup> *Indiana Republican*, July 19, 1817.

a situation much more lucrative and better suited to his age and infirmities.<sup>32</sup>

According to Hendricks' own letter, the most violent personal abuse was heaped upon him for his conduct as a representative because first, he had procured the appointment of printer of United States laws for the *Gazette* in preference to the *Herald*; second, he had attempted to have the printing of laws taken away from Elihu Stout, of the *Western Sun and General Advertiser*; third he had secured the appointment of Armstrong Brandon, as postmaster at Corydon, when the resigning postmaster Mr. Heth had recommended Mr. M'Bean as his successor. It was also charged in this case that neither Mr. Hendricks nor Senator James Noble had consulted Senator Waller Taylor before making the appointment. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* complained that he had caused delay in the payment of the state militia for national service. In accounting for the opposition Mr. Hendricks said:

It is not rational, sentimental objection to my political acts, which has occasioned the opposition which I have recently experienced. It is the man and not measures which have actuated my enemies.

Those personal attacks continued throughout the campaign. Knox county gave Posey 346 votes and Hendricks only 35, and Posey county gave Posey 453 to Hendricks 121 votes. On the other hand Franklin county gave Hendricks 1019 votes to Posey 48 and Wayne county to the north of it gave Hendricks 961 votes to 135 for Posey.<sup>33</sup> Throughout the center of the state the vote was fairly equally divided with the majorities generally in favor of Hendricks. Hendricks received a total of 5075 votes to 3272 for Posey. In the congressional election of 1818, Hendricks was opposed by Ruben A. Nelson. The victory was overwhelming for Hendricks. Nelson carried only two counties, Warrick by a vote of 92 to 6 and Knox by 343 to 179, while in many counties he did not receive more than one vote.<sup>34</sup> In 1820 Nelson was again the opponent of Hendricks. He was even more decisively defeated this time

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1817.

<sup>33</sup> Files in secretary of state's office, box, 153-154.

<sup>34</sup> Files in secretary of state's office, box 155-156.

than in 1818, losing Warrick county and carrying Knox alone, where he received 437 votes to 302 for Hendricks.<sup>35</sup>

With Hendricks firmly entrenched in congress, political contention again centered about Jennings. His every act was subject to adverse criticism. In 1818 he was appointed by the president, as a commissioner along with Lewis Cass of Michigan and Benjamin Parke to treat with the Indians. They succeeded in purchasing from the Indians all the central part of the state, and with the exception of the Miami, the Thorntown and a few other reservations, all the Indian land south of the Wabash river. The enemies of Jennings declared that he had violated the clause of the state constitution which forbade any person holding an office of trust under the United States to be governor or lieutenant governor.<sup>36</sup> Lieutenant-governor Christopher Harrison said of the affair:

I decided in my own mind that the Honorable Jonathan Jennings in consequence of his holding and executing said office had virtually abdicated his office of governor of this state.<sup>37</sup>

Harrison immediately took charge of the state seal which had been left with the secretary of state. On the 24th of October he left Corydon and was away until the 30th. In the meantime Governor Jennings had returned and had carried the state seal away from the secretary of state's office, where it had been left by Harrison on a promise that no one but Harrison should have it. Jennings refused to surrender the seal on the demand of Harrison. The contest was carried to the legislature, which recognized Jennings' motives in serving as a commissioner, and failed to oust him. Harrison immediately resigned. The constitutional right of an officer was often called into question during this early period. In 1822 the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* questioned the constitutional right of both the governor and lieutenant-governor to hold office while they were candidates for other offices.<sup>38</sup> A little later when Governor Jennings issued the first Thanksgiving proclamation his constitutional right to do so was

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, box 159-160.

<sup>36</sup> Article 4, sec. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Open letter in *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Nov. 14, 1818.

<sup>38</sup> May 18, 1822.

questioned by the *Western Sun and General Advertiser*.<sup>39</sup> In Jennings' case, however, he had clearly violated the letter of the constitution.

As the year 1819 drew near it was evident that Jennings would be a candidate to succeed himself as governor. As early as September, 1818, the fight on him began. A letter signed William L. Colman, said:<sup>40</sup>

The contemptible cabal of office-seeking adventurers who are busily engaged in writing slander and falsehood for Jennings' *Centinel* (Vincennes) yet go on, their reward, however, awaits them.

Early in the year 1819 Jennings and Jesse L. Holman were the announced candidates for governor, while Ratliff Boone, John DePauw, Dennis Pennington, and Marston G. Clark were candidates for lieutenant-governor. The two latter soon withdrew from the race. Personality was the sole issue. The fight began early. An open letter by "A. B." said:

People of Indiana, in August you have to determine whether you will by re-electing Jonathan Jennings again cast ridicule upon your institutions and keep them subservient to a system which if not entirely corrupt leads to that result, or whether you will by the honorable choice of Jesse Holman place a gentleman in the gubernatorial chair who has disposition and talents to render your state respectable and your affairs prosperous.

The worst charge against Jennings was his violation of his oath of office in acting as commissioner to treat with the Indians.<sup>41</sup> The full details of the controversy were kept before the people. Holman's candidacy did not seem to be popular, and about a month before the election Christopher Harrison, who was regarded as a political martyr by Jennings' enemies, became a candidate.<sup>42</sup> He had no chance of success and Jennings defeated him by the overwhelming majority of 9168 to 2007 votes while Boone defeated DePauw by the vote of 7150 to 3422.<sup>43</sup> The hatred for Jennings in Vincennes was so intense that the *Western Sun* continued its abuse after the election.<sup>44</sup> The cause of the old Virginia group of politicians was

<sup>39</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*.

<sup>40</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Sept. 26, 1818, May 1, 1819.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, May 29, 1819.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, July 3, 1819.

<sup>43</sup> *House Journal*, 1819, p. 26.

<sup>44</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Aug. 26, 1819.

lost forever. Jennings kept the slavery issue constantly before the people, to the exclusion of every other issue. The tide of immigration was flowing fast, and almost every new settler was opposed to slavery, and Jennings had been the champion of antislavery and every thrust at him, in attempts to win the emigrant vote, reacted upon his adversary. The more he was opposed the more popular he became. For a short time there was an apparent lessening of the political tension preparatory for the new alignment that was soon to follow.

On the basis of the census of 1820 Indiana was divided into three congressional districts. The first contained the twenty-one counties of Davies, Dubois, Gibson, Greene, Knox, Lawrence, Martin, Monroe, Morgan, Orange, Posey, Parke, Perry, Pike, Putnam, Sullivan, Vanderburg, Vigo, Spencer, Wabash and Warrick. The second contained the eleven counties of Bartholomew, Crawford, Clark, Floyd, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Jennings, Marion, Scott, Shelby, Washington and part of Delaware. While the third contained the eight counties of Dearborn, Fayette, Franklin, Randolph, Ripley, Switzerland, Union, Wayne, and part of Delaware.<sup>45</sup> As the campaign of 1822 drew near Hendricks became the candidate for governor, and so completely had he won the respect of the people that he was unopposed by any real candidate. There were four candidates for lieutenant-governor, Ratcliffe Boone, William Polke, Erasmus Powell and David H. Maxwell. The campaign for state offices was entirely free from personal abuse. Hendricks received 18,340 votes, excepting a few strays it was the total vote of the state. Boone received 7,809 out of a total 17,822 votes cast for lieutenant-governor and a plurality of almost 3,800 over his nearest competitor, Polke.

The candidates for congress were Judge Charles Dewey and William Prince from the first district; Jonathan Jennings and James Scott from the second; John Test, Ezra Ferris and S. C. Vance from the third. The only real contest for congress was between Dewey and Prince in the first district. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* was extremely bitter against Dewey, while he attempted to refute the personal at-

\* House Journal, 1822, p. 22. This was a plain gerrymander.

tacks against him.<sup>46</sup> In the second district Jennings, being free from the Knox county and Virginia influence had little trouble in defeating Scott, while Judge Test was easily victor over Ferris and Vance.<sup>47</sup>

The work of the General Assembly was in just as chaotic condition as the politics of the state. For the first five years the General Assembly consisted of a senate of ten and a house of twenty-nine. There was very little general legislation, the time being generally taken up with local matters, most often a divorce bill or an impeachment of a justice of the peace. In one week the General Assembly granted as many as five divorces.<sup>48</sup> These were often granted without regard to the merits of the case and most often as a result of log-rolling. Some who were opposed to such bills objected but this objection had little force. Governor Jennings in his message to the General Assembly in 1819 outlined a program of future legislation which was later to become the basis of political contention in the state, but the population was yet too scattered to give a united demand for any public policy. The points covered by the message were:

1. Revenue and taxation.
2. Specie payment and banking.
3. Internal improvements, canals, salt and salt wells.
4. Public education.
5. Roads and highways.
6. Militia.
7. The location of the state capital.<sup>49</sup>

The people were kept informed of the working of the General Assembly by circular letters published by their representatives (both state and national) telling what had been done at the sessions just closed and giving in great detail their own position on the questions of local importance.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See issue of July 13, 1822.

<sup>47</sup> Files in secretary of state's office, box 161-162.

<sup>48</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Jan. 19, 1822.

<sup>49</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Dec. 25, 1819.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, June 19, 1822, contains the letter of General Johnston of Knox county.

## FORMATION OF THE JACKSON PARTY

As Monroe's second term drew to a close, the people of Indiana began to demand an active part in the choice of presidential electors, who up to this time had been selected by the state legislature. There were two possible methods of choosing the electors: First, by the vote of the people—by districting the state; or second, by choosing them on a general ticket. Both methods were in common usage.<sup>1</sup> In the election of the state Assembly in 1823 the question of districting was one of the most important questions. Early in the year the *Indiana Farmer* said:<sup>2</sup>

The August elections are fast approaching and we think it time that the candidates for a seat in our legislature should come fairly before the people with their views and intentions in regard to one or two important subjects. These questions should be proposed to every candidate: "Are you in favor of districting the State for the purpose of electing electors for the President and Vice-President?" If the state should not be districted as above whom are you in favor of for President and Vice-President?<sup>3</sup>

The editor declared himself in favor of districting the state and asserted that he would vote for no one who was not. In Knox county there were three candidates for the legislature: General W. Johnston, James B. McCall and John Law. A fortnight before the election B. V. Beckes addressed an open letter to the candidates in which he put the following questions:

1. Whom will you support for the next President of the United States?
2. What course will you pursue with respect to the enormous tax which the people have to pay, especially the poll tax?

<sup>1</sup> According to *Niles' Register*, Oct. 4, 1823, seven states—Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois and Missouri chose electors in districts; ten states—New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Ohio on a general ticket and seven states—Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and Indiana by state legislature.

<sup>2</sup> *Indiana Farmer*, published at Salem, Ind., by Ebenezer and Eleazer Wheelock. It supported Adams in 1824.

<sup>3</sup> Copied in *Western Sun and General Advertiser* June 14, 1823.

3. The revision of our statute laws it is expected will be ready and presented to the next General Assembly. What are your views on the subject?

4. What are your views as to districting the state for the election of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States?

5. Our school lands if properly managed are most undoubtedly a subject of utmost importance. Will you please communicate your opinions to us on the subject?

6. Will you state whether or not you are in favor of calling a convention, giving your views at length?

7. What change will you be willing to make in the county road law, as same are necessary?

8. We would be pleased to hear a word of your politics.<sup>5</sup>

The next week the candidates answered the questions of Beckes through the columns of the *Sun*.<sup>6</sup> The candidates seemed to be of a harmonious opinion on all subjects. In answer to the first, Johnston declared for Clay and Jackson, McCall for Clay, and Law for "a man of the West." All of them favored the repeal of the poll tax, would support revision, favored the districting of the state, would never sell the school lands, but rather lease them, and would have no convention (constitutional) at this time. Johnston declared that the road law for 1818 was preferable while the others would be governed by the will of their constituents. Johnston said his politics were and have always been Republican. McCall said he was a decided Democrat, while Law was a Republican in principles and practice. Law's answer to the fourth question was interesting owing to the fact that two weeks previous<sup>7</sup> he had published a letter stating that he was in favor of selecting electors by a joint ballot of the legislature, also denying that he was a partisan of J. Q. Adams. He was evidently drifting to fit public opinion. McCall was the successful candidate. The new assembly settled the question by districting the state by providing for the choice of electors on a general ticket.

More than two years before the elections of 1824 the question of candidates for the Presidency was freely discussed in the state. William H. Crawford had, by giving the patronage of the United States treasury to local banks, built up a faction

<sup>5</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, July 26, 1823.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1823.

for himself.<sup>8</sup> The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* said of him:

Mr. Crawford had done all within his power to ease the western debtors, and the return he receives from the western man is as impotent and ungrateful as maliciousness can render it.<sup>9</sup>

It again spoke of him as "the able, firm, and intelligent Secretary of the Treasury."<sup>10</sup> "Franklin", in an open letter, said:

The interests of the West should not be overlooked in the selection of Mr. Monroe's successor, nor can our interests be overlooked when the interests of the Union are consulted.

He thought that Clay's claims could not be preferred at the next election but that he should be a cabinet member, Mr. Jackson's pretensions were remote. He must prove himself a statesman. Crawford, he thought, would be the choice of the West. His sentiments on internal improvements and domestic manufacture were in perfect accord with those of the West.

Later in the year the sentiment seemed to drift toward Clay as the candidate. In a series of three articles "Wayne" discussed the necessity for roads, for canals and the possible attitude of the prospective candidates upon these subjects.<sup>11</sup> He eliminated J. Q. Adams because he was ignorant of the actual conditions, and saw a lack of interest in these subjects on the part of Calhoun and Crawford. He said:

From J. Q. Adams you have everything to dread, from Calhoun and Crawford you have nothing upon which to build that assurance which wisdom and prudence would demand.

He then concluded that Clay was the only logical man. On the same date of "Wayne's" last article "Knox" in a letter said:

Let us rise in the majority of our united strength and give to the candidate of our choice the presidential chair. Let all other questions be buried in oblivion except the single question: "Is he friendly to the interests of the West."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Logan Esarey, *Indiana University Studies*, No. 15, *State Banking in Indiana*, 21 to 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Western Sun*, Feb. 2, 1822.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, April 27, 1822. Also Nov. 20, 1822.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 9-16 and 23, 1822.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1822.

He then eliminated all possible candidates except Clay. "Franklin" in another letter saw in the contest only a struggle between Republicanism and Aristocracy. And whatever the names of the candidates, in the end the friends of one would be found advocating the voice of the people and those of the other the supremacy of the people's privileged servants.<sup>13</sup>

The speculation as to who their candidates should be soon gave way to actual nominations. Clay was nominated by the Missouri legislature on Nov. 7, 1823<sup>14</sup> and the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* in the same issue that it announced the nomination, expressed a wish that Illinois and Indiana would do likewise. The Ohio legislature nominated Clay, January 3.<sup>15</sup> The first nomination of Jackson came in Westmoreland county, Virginia, early in the year 1823.<sup>16</sup> The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the 6th regiment of the militia of Indiana met at their place of encampment in the latter part of April, 1823, and adopted the resolution: That we do highly appreciate the valuable services of the Honorable Henry Clay and do most cordially recommend him as a suitable person to fill the office of chief magistrate of the United States.<sup>17</sup>

The matter of caucus nominations soon became the absorbing topic in national politics. Adams as secretary of state, Crawford as secretary of the treasury and Clay as Speaker of the House were on the scene to influence the choice. General Jackson was elected by the Tennessee legislature to the United States senate for the term beginning March 4, 1823. *Niles' Register* in an editorial complained:<sup>18</sup>

This is one of the many cases that grow out of making Presidents at Washington. The evil is increasing at every turn. If the people do not do something to put the evil down we may fear that Congress may become something like the Polish Diet was. We shall perhaps see the necessity at some future day of so amending the constitution as to disqualify persons from securing the office of President for three or four years, at least, after they have held any place of profit or honor in the government of the United States.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1822.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1822.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1823.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1823.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1823.

<sup>18</sup> *Niles' Register*, Oct. 25, 1823.

A meeting of citizens of Louisville and Jefferson county, Kentucky, in Louisville, in May, 1823, drew up a lengthy address deprecating the choice of the President by congress and declaring that "the President should be the choice of the people."<sup>19</sup> When the meeting adjourned the friends of Jackson lined up in a row outside of the door, and those opposed to Jackson lined up facing them. The Jackson men were in a majority and they regarded it as a Jackson nomination. The Columbus *Ohio Observer* in an editorial said:

The people's candidate for the Presidency is Andrew Jackson, while the leading men of the country are solicitous to maintain the power they have so long exercised. This aristocracy, particularly that part which is in favor of Mr. Secretary Crawford are constantly advising that there shall be a congressional caucus, and that their choice shall be conclusive. Oh, very well. Who will represent the people at this great trial race? Nobody, for it is well known that Jackson has rather too much honesty and integrity to find many warm and substantial friends amongst the hunters for office. The people are to give up their candidate and their claims and the leading men are to dictate to them whom they shall vote for any what they shall do.<sup>20</sup>

The dangers of such nominations were not yet so apparent as they were to become a little later, and politicians as a rule were not ready to oppose the system. On January 7, 1824, Mr. Blake offered the following resolutions in the Indiana House of Representatives:<sup>21</sup>

*Whereas*, the encouragement given to caucus nominations for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States excites in us the liveliest apprehensions for the safety of the Union, because we believe it to be a practice, tormenting the people in the exercise of their dearest franchise, at war with their feelings and the principles of their political institutions, nourishing the growth of party intrigue, which carries in its train every species of dangerous and degrading corruption: and a practice which if not checked in its progress will ultimately undermine the sacred rights, the prosperity and happiness of the American people. Therefore in obedience to our duty to the State we represent, to our fellow citizens of the Union:

*Resolved*, by the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana; that it is the right of the people reserved by them in the constitution to elect the President and the Vice-President of

<sup>19</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, May 24, 1823.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1825.

<sup>21</sup> *Niles' Register*, Feb. 7, 1824.

the United States, and that any attempt by congressional nominations, in caucus or otherwise, to exercise this invaluable privilege unless authorized by the Constitution, should be regarded by the American people as a dangerous encroachment on their rights, tending to ruin the Republic.

*Resolved further*, that his excellency, the governor, be requested to transmit to our senators and representatives in Congress this plan and matured opinion expressed by the House of Representatives of the people of this State.

The resolution was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 36 to 8.

From the widespread manipulation of the banking industry by Secretary Crawford there was little doubt but what he could control a congressional caucus at any time, but whatever support he had in this came from those who were naturally affected by his actions.<sup>22</sup> While the people had no way of preventing such a nomination, yet the tenor of the western press indicated that there was no intention on the part of the west to be bound by such a caucus. In Indiana, Crawford lost whatever prestige he had through the bank failures of 1821 and 1822.<sup>23</sup> The sentiment throughout the west was becoming stronger and stronger for Jackson. The Columbian *Observer* declared:

There is not to be found in the wide universe a man so pure, spotless and exceptional in his political and moral character as Andrew Jackson. But he has no leading men in his favor. This is his only crime.<sup>24</sup>

"Unus" in a series of letters concluded:

For myself after much cogitation and mature consideration I have concluded that Jackson approaches the man I want more than any other of the Presidential candidates, and consequently Jackson is my man and more he is the man of most of my friends.<sup>25</sup>

In another part of the letter he said:

The contest is not between Clay and Adams or between Jackson and Crawford, but between political honesty and integrity on the one side, and intrigue, corruption and infamy on the other. To you it will not be the least difference whether Adams or Clay or Crawford or Calhoun

<sup>22</sup> See *American State Papers*, 1829-'21, '22, '23.

<sup>23</sup> Logan Esarey, *Indiana University Studies No. 15, State Banking in Indiana*, 221-242.

<sup>24</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Nov. 1, 1823.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 1 to Dec. 13, 1823.

succeeds. The same principles and the same measures will triumph. But should Jackson be elected the triumph will be yours, for the victory will be yours.

This was the beginning of a weekly exchange of letters by "Unus" supporting Jackson and "Backwoodsman" supporting Clay. In one of these letters "Backwoodsman" said:

It is as a military man that General Jackson is principally known to the American people, and they are not in possession of such facts as will warrant them in believing that he is possessed of the talent and information of a Statesman.<sup>26</sup>

Other writers also took various positions on the question. "Old Knox" urged harmony between the Clay and Jackson men.<sup>27</sup> "Ironicus" gave twelve reasons why Adams should not be elected President and favored the election of Clay.<sup>28</sup> *The Western Sun and General Advertiser* also published a series of articles from other papers giving the western view of the matter. On April 24, it published the address of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, mass meeting that had endorsed Jackson. On May 29 it began the publication of a series of six letters by "Seventy Six" copied from the Cincinnati *Gazette* opposing Adams and advocating the election of Jackson. On that date also it published an extract from the Franklin *Gazette* favoring Jackson. On April 17, 1824, it published a letter by "E. P." to Crawford, Clay, Calhoun, and Adams urging them to withdraw in favor of Jackson and admonishing them to:

Remember that for your sakes in common with other citizens he faced the most appalling dangers. To defend you he attacked the perfidious Spaniard in his fort. He fought the haughty Briton in open field. He conquered the savage in the fastness of the wilderness. While you were enjoying the luxurious delicacies of your tables his only food was the acorns of the forests. While you reposed on cushions of down Jackson had a stone or a log for his pillow, the dew for his covering and the cold earth for his bed.

On June 19 it published the Jackson-Monroe correspondence to show that Jackson had not urged Monroe to place two

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1824.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1824. "Old Knox" was John Ewing.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 24, 1824.

Federalists in his cabinet as had been charged. Throughout July and August it ran a series of articles by "Wyoming" entitled "Rules and Articles of War" and in August the title changed to "The next President and General Andrew Jackson." On August 7, "Hamilton" in an article copied from the Cincinnati *Advertiser* was very profuse in praise of Jackson. All letters in the *Western Sun* from that time dealt with Jackson's military record. On October 30, it published an article from the *Indiana Intelligencer* (Charlestown) by an Adams man showing that Adams men would not suffer by the election of Clay. In the same issue an editorial said:

The Adams men seeing their case hopeless are planning to flock to Clay and defeat Jackson.

The change of this paper from decidedly pro-Crawford in 1822 to neutral between Clay and Jackson in 1823 to radical for Jackson in 1824, may be taken as a fairly accurate gauge of the political sentiment of the state during that period. The idea that they had as their champion a man whose life experience had been the same as theirs outweighed all other considerations with them. The educating process had done its work effectively and there was little doubt but that Jackson would secure a plurality of votes in the November elections.

The question of an electoral ticket was the all-important question at that time. The law providing for the selection of electors on a general ticket had only recently been passed (January 14, 1824).<sup>29</sup> Neither state laws nor party machinery provided any means for selecting a ticket. They were generally chosen over the country by newspapers advocating the use of certain names. And by concensus of newspaper opinions the ticket was agreed upon, or it was chosen by the adherents of a candidate in the state legislature. But even then there was no means of binding the electoral candidate to vote for any certain candidate or candidates in the electoral college. As early as May the Adams men had chosen Isaac Blackford of Knox, Jesse L. Holman of Dearborn, James Scott of Clark, David H. Maxwell of Monroe, and Christopher Harrison of Washington as an electoral ticket while the Clay men had chosen William W. Wick of Marion, Marston

<sup>29</sup> *Laws of Indiana, 1824*, p. 174.

G. Clark of Washington, James Rariden of Wayne, Walter Wilson of Gibson, and Moses Tabbs of Knox as candidates.<sup>30</sup> The Clay supporters were evidently in some doubt as to how their candidates would vote if elected and the *Indiana Gazette* gave that as a cause for Clay men turning to Jackson.<sup>31</sup> It said:

The circumstance of so many of the friends of Clay turning over to Jackson in this State may be accounted for in some measure by the reason which we have heard some give, i. e., that the electoral ticket got up for Clay is only a Crawford ticket in disguise, and that should Clay be out of the question which is most likely these men will then most likely vote for Crawford. The citizens of this State are not disposed to vote for a caucus candidate under any circumstances and so long as it is understood that Clay electors are inclined to Crawford in any event there will be continual falling off.<sup>32</sup> The reason is that the people would rather vote for Adams or Jackson, than trust their cause in the hands of such men as transfer their interests to a candidate whose elevation they do not wish to promote. They do not wish to elevate Crawford over the shoulders of Clay.

In the choice of a Jackson ticket there was much confusion. Newspapers in various parts of the state proposed names. The aim was to distribute them over the state as much as possible and yet get as strong Jackson men as possible. It seemed impossible for the Jacksonian papers over the state to agree upon the same five men. One ticket consisted of John Carr, John McCarty, Elias McNamee, Alexander Devin, and Edward Patton.<sup>33</sup> Another consisted of David Robb, Jonathan McCarty, John Milroy, and John Carr, while the fifth place was left open.<sup>34</sup> There was a third in the field put out in the extreme eastern part of the state. The Jackson men in approaching the election with this confusion

<sup>30</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, May 22, 1824.

<sup>31</sup> Copied in *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Oct. 30, 1824. It is not known which *Gazette* this is. There were three in the state at this time. One at Corydon, edited by the Brandons of whom Armstrong Brandon was a graduate of Dickinson College, Penn. A strong Jackson man and postmaster at Corydon; another at Indianapolis, edited by Nathaniel Bolton and Judge Smith. Bolton was a strong Jackson man but Smith was wavering in his support. It was likely one of these two papers. The third was at Evansville but was not a strong paper.

<sup>32</sup> It is noticeable that there was no Crawford electoral ticket in the field. The recent bank failures and the fact that he was the caucus candidate killed all his chance in the state.

<sup>33</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, June 26, 1824.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, July 31.

were fearful that altho they secured a majority of the votes in the state, that some of the Clay men might secure a plurality through the Jackson men not being united. To meet the need for a uniform ticket Elihu Stout<sup>35</sup> of Vincennes proposed a convention at Salem. He said:

The friends of the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency of the nation had long hoped that some arrangement would have been made to secure a ticket so composed as to afford general satisfaction and to present a rallying point to his supporters throughout the state.<sup>36</sup>

He said that this had not been done and he then proposed a general convention. County committees, of correspondence, and township committees of vigilance, he said, will secure to us such a ticket as will produce unanimity among ourselves and afford general satisfaction; will secure certain and speedy diffusion of information; and will secure such diligent activity and attention throughout the state and on the day of election as will render success certain.

He then called on all the friends of Andrew Jackson throughout the state, to exert themselves in their respective counties to procure county meetings sometime in the month of August, and at such meetings to appoint a delegate or delegates in proportion to their county's representation in the legislature, who would meet in general convention in Salem in Washington county on Thursday after the first Monday in September next, there to nominate an electoral ticket in favor of Andrew Jackson and to make such other arrangements as the good of the cause may require, and also to appoint county committees of correspondence of five persons, and township committees of vigilance of three persons each.

Altho a general convention was a thing entirely new in the political experience of the country the idea was immensely popular. The Jackson men in the various counties began almost at once to hold county conventions to choose delegates to Salem and to choose the committees called for. On August 17, the Jackson men of Gibson county met at Princeton and

<sup>35</sup> Elihu Stout was a native of New Jersey, was a printer by trade and while working at his trade in Nashville, Tennessee, became a strong personal friend of Andrew Jackson. At this time he was editor of the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* at Vincennes.

<sup>36</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, June 26, 1824.

- (1) Appointed Charles Harrington a delegate to Salem;
- (2) Every person present pledged himself to vote for the candidates nominated at Salem;
- (3) David Robb, William Harrington, and Thomas J. Evans were appointed a committee of correspondence;
- (4) The committee of correspondence was given the power to appoint township vigilance committees of three;
- (5) They invited men of other counties to adopt similar measures and finally
- (6) They provided for the publishing of the proceedings of the meeting.<sup>37</sup>

The Jackson men of Knox county were called to meet August 29,<sup>38</sup> and on that date at<sup>39</sup> the courthouse in Vincennes: they

- (1) Appointed Samuel Judah and Jacob Call as delegates to Salem;
- (2) All present pledged themselves to vote for the nominees of the convention;
- (3) They appointed a committee of correspondence of three members, and
- (4) Provided for the publication of the proceedings;<sup>40</sup>
- (5) They invited friends of Jackson in other counties to join them.

Similar conventions were held all over the state and on September 16, 1824,<sup>41</sup> one week later than the time set in the

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1824.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1824.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1824.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1824.

<sup>41</sup> This is apparently one among the very first conventions composed of delegates selected to nominate candidates for office that ever represented the people of any state in the country. The claim has been made for New York. The New York convention, however, met on September 21 and 22, 1824, or the week after the Indiana convention. The New York convention was also something of a farce for it represented various factions opposed to the legislative caucus candidate for governor and when DeWitt Clinton received a majority vote for governor some of the other factions withdrew and would not support him. (See *Niles' Register*, Oct. 2, 1824.) The Federalists held a convention in 1808 and another in 1812, both in New York, to nominate candidates for the Presidency. Both represented only the party leaders, and both were intended to be kept secret from the mass of voters. See *American Historical Review*, vol. 17, p. 754, also *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 680, and *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, Vol. IV, p. 362. The Indiana convention on the other hand was a convention of delegates, selected for the purpose and having back of them all the rudiments of the complicated modern political machine, with its closely organized committee system and each unit in close contact with every other unit. This is evidently

original call, eighteen delegates, representing the counties of Fayette, Gibson, Jefferson, Orange, Clark, Lawrence, Shelby, Switzerland, Daviess, Knox, Ripley, Washington, Jennings, and Monroe, met in Salem.<sup>42</sup> Samuel Milroy of Washington county was made chairman and Jacob Call of Knox county secretary. Samuel Milroy of Washington county, David Robb of Gibson, Elias McNamee of Knox, John Carr of Clark, and Jonathan McCarty of Fayette, were unanimously agreed upon as an electoral ticket. Samuel Judah,<sup>43</sup> Dr. Israel T. Canby, Henry S. Handy, Samuel Carr, and William Kelsey were appointed to prepare and publish an address to the people of the state, on the approaching election.

Dr. Canby of Madison, Samuel Beach of Jeffersonville, and Jesse B. Durham of Jackson county were appointed a general correspondence committee with power to fill vacancies in the electoral ticket. The convention requested counties that had not done so to appoint correspondence committees. It also provided for the distribution of five hundred copies of the address of the convention to the people and for the distribution of three thousand copies of the electoral ticket.

The address to the people was a very lengthy discussion of the one issue of the campaign, the personality of Andrew Jackson.<sup>34</sup> It called attention to the fact that

No one has been supported more warmly as having the strongest claims upon your judgment, your patriotism, and your republicanism and no one has been opposed more virulently as being destitute of all qualifications of a statesman, and dangerous to your civil rights than Andrew Jackson.

In dealing with his life it said:

In our estimation, a life devoted to the service of his country proves the patriotism of General Jackson. In early youth with the soldiers of the Revolution he fought and he bled in his country's cause. In the

more nearly the embryo of our committee and convention system than the New York Convention.

<sup>42</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Sept. 25, 1824.

<sup>43</sup> Samuel Judah was well qualified for the task. He was a native of New York. He was a graduate of Rutgers' college, New Jersey. He was a son-in-law of Armstrong Brandon, postmaster of Corydon, a good lawyer and a very radical Jackson man.

Information given by Samuel Brandon Judah, his son, now a resident of Vincennes, Indiana.

<sup>34</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Oct. 16, 1824.

strength of manhood, the destined master spirit of the southern war. At the head of the Yeomanry of the West, he met the veterans of Wellington, accustomed to danger, to blood, and to victory in the ensanguined plains of the Peninsula and at their hands redeemed the country's honor.

Of the fitness for office it said:

In every age we have seen men endowed with a universality of genius, a combination of talents, capacitating them to uphold their country's honor amid the storms of war, or to preside in the consultations of statesmen, and to guide their fellows in the paths of peace to happiness and prosperity. We will only name Washington, Hamilton, Monroe, and Jackson. The history of Andrew Jackson presents every pledge deeds can give of his ability for all his country can require of him.

It then magnified his knowledge of men, "greatness of intellect," "clearness of discrimination," "accuracy of judgment" and the "continued tenor of his life," and added: "yet he is untrained in the ways of political intrigue, and he denies the right and he rejects the authority of congressional caucuses—and therefore it is pretended he is not, he can not be a statesman." Washington's military and political life was then reviewed with added declaration:

They were not disappointed, nor will you be in putting your trust in Andrew Jackson—in the hero of two wars—in the savior of New Orleans, in him who retrieved his country's honor at the hands of the lauded veterans of his country's enemy, will not, can not be disappointed. The ghosts of Agathocles and of Philip of Macedon, of Caesar, and of the victim of St. Helena are summoned from the shades to deter you from the elevation of General Jackson to the presidency, to deter you from the cause pointed out, not only against the judgment of your own unsophisticated minds but against the honest dictates of your uncorrupted hearts.

The history of Athens was then reviewed with the conclusion:

Virtue had ceased to exist at Athens, the brightness of her glory was stained. Venality pervaded every department of state and every class of men, the meretricious charms of wealth had inspired every person and luxury had enfeebled every mind before Philip triumphed at Chaeronea.

In the example of Rome it concluded that:

Not the ambition of Caesar but the general practice of every vice which could corrupt the heart, villify the mind or enfeeble the body of man, produced the destruction of Roman liberty.

The analogy between Greece and Rome and America is then drawn with the questions:

Do you admit it? Do you in the infancy of your national existence confess you are demoralized by public corruption? So vitiated by private vices that virtue and goodness, the love of excellence has lost its attraction for you? That honor has ceased to influence you, and that patriotism has become only a name to disguise your debasement? But if as your glorious fathers you stand firm in your strength, if you rely on your own virtue and love of liberty—to your rights and liberties, anticipation can not offer any fear.

Washington and Jackson are then compared with the conclusion:

Each first in the hearts of his countrymen has been called from retirement to the councils of the nation. Each was ever distinguished by the amenity of his manners and each has ever been regarded with love and reverence by all within his circle of action. Washington the people's choice was elevated to the Presidency by the people—the prosperity of the country proved the wisdom of his administration. Jackson, the people's choice is now before you—will you complete the parallel?

As Americans, as citizens of the West, as Republicans, and as men only actuated by a sincere love of our common country, of its glory, prosperity, and happiness, we most earnestly recommend to you fellow citizens, to support the man of the people, Andrew Jackson.

The ticket nominated at Salem gave the Jackson forces a united front and the address of the convention, exploiting the record of Jackson, his political integrity, and especially his freedom from the caucus, and the fact that he was the man of the people gave them a rallying point that was irresistible. In the November election Jackson carried the state by a plurality of 2028 over Clay and 4250 over Adams. There was no Crawford ticket in the field.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1824. The vote stood Jackson, 7343; Clay, 5315, and Adams, 3093.

## THE SUCCESS OF THE JACKSON PARTY

In Indiana Jacksonian democracy was not the rallying of the people about a great issue. The issues that we are accustomed to associate with the early Jacksonians did not enter into public discussions in the state in a material way until 1828, or until Jacksonianism was at least four years old. Jacksonian democracy in Indiana was rather a spirit. It was the manifest expression of that intense feeling that the common people were supreme. The least show of luxury was a sign of pride or aristocracy.<sup>1</sup> The man who made such show was at once under suspicion. The eastern politicians were the very incarnation of luxury and aristocracy. Jackson was the embodiment of unsophisticated democracy. The frontiersman must fight for his existence and Jackson was his champion. The Indian had been his most deadly enemy and Jackson had mastered the Indian. The English had incited the Indian to murder and Jackson had humbled the English. The uncultured mind demanded a hero and Jackson met every qualification required of such a hero. So the campaign of 1824 was waged not upon an economic or political principle, but about the popular hero, the man Andrew Jackson. The four years' campaign that followed was not a struggle for the triumph of a principle, but to vindicate an injustice to a popular hero, and political issues came into the struggle as expediency or circumstance determined. As soon as the results of the contest in the House of Representatives showing the election of Adams were known, the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* said:

In this day's paper I have given the result of the Presidential election in congress, and contrary to my expectation the voice of a majority of 50,000 freemen has been disregarded. The friends of Jackson can console themselves for the disappointment under the firm conviction that the voice of the American people was in his favor.<sup>2</sup>

It began at once to create a sentiment adverse to the administration, and three weeks later it quoted the *National Intelligencer* as saying:

<sup>1</sup> In 1826 O. H. Smith gave up a borrowed buggy and went on horseback for fear the people would think him proud and injure his chances for congress. See O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 26, 1825.

It is said, and we have no doubt of it, that the president elect has offered to Mr. Speaker Clay the office of secretary of state and it seems to be thought he will accept it.<sup>3</sup>

On the same date it quoted a letter from a Pennsylvania representative in congress to prove a charge of the bargain between Clay and Adams. The author says:

I shall therefore proceed to give you a brief account of such a bargain as can only be equaled by the famous Burr conspiracy of 1801. For some time past the friends of Clay have hinted that they, like the Swiss, would fight for those who would pay best. Overtures were said to have been made by the friends of Adams to the friends of Clay, offering him the appointment of secretary of state for his aid in electing Adams and the friends of Clay gave this information to the friends of Jackson, and hinted that if the friends of Jackson would offer the same price, they would close with them. But none of the friends of Jackson would descend to such a mean barter and sale. I was of the opinion when I first heard of this transaction that men professing any honorable principle could not nor would not be transferred like the planter does his negroes or the farmer his team and horses. No alarm was excited. We believed the Republic was safe. The nation having delivered Jackson into the hands of Congress backed by a large majority of their votes, there was no doubt in my mind that Congress would respond to the will of the nation by electing the individual they had declared to be their choice, contrary to this expectation it is now ascertained to a certainty that Henry Clay has transferred his interests to John Quincy Adams. As a consideration for this abandonment of duty to his constituents it is said and believed, should this unholy coalition prevail, Clay is to be appointed Secretary of State. I have no fears in my mind. I am clearly of opinion we shall defeat every combination. The force of public opinion must prevail, or there is an end of liberty.<sup>4</sup>

The election of Adams was met with a storm of protest and the campaign for the promotion of Jackson's candidacy began immediately. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* quoted from the Somersville *Advertiser*:

A minority candidate has been elected by the House, and thereby the voice of a majority of the nation has been disregarded, defied. The people, particularly in the West, have not only been misrepresented but the spirit of the constitution has been violated.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> March 12, 1825.

<sup>4</sup> Copied from *Columbus Observer*, Jan. 28.

<sup>5</sup> April 2, 1825.

On the same date it published a letter by Jackson, which analyzed Clay's charges that he was a military chieftain; reviewed his own achievements; said that he became a soldier for the good of his country, and charged that Clay had never risked himself for the country.<sup>6</sup>

This spirit of hostility on the part of the Jackson men was an apparent surprise to the Clay men. They had misjudged the spirit that was opposed to them. A Clay man, over the signature 'S' assured the friends of Clay in the Cincinnati *Gazette* that it was not to be supposed that General Jackson could permit himself to be made a rallying point for opposition to the administration until some measure had been adopted by it for which in his opinion it ought to forfeit the public confidence. Those who had a proper confidence in Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay and the other principal men who should direct the measures should have no reason to fear such an event. They might expect to see General Jackson acting consistently with his professions and giving to Mr. Adams a liberal support.<sup>7</sup>

The personal fight against Clay and for Jackson, was waged by the Jackson men everywhere. Mr. Stout, the editor of the *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, who was a close personal friend of Jackson, and whose paper was the leading Jackson paper in the state selected his articles from all parts of the country to show that the Jackson sentiment was universal. For an excellent statement of the condition he used the address of Mr. Kramer to the Ninth congressional district of Pennsylvania:

In determining to support Mr. Adams Mr. Clay did not only abandon his constituents and violate those fundamental principles by which he has admitted himself to be bound to them, but he threw the whole weight of his influence in favor of the man denounced by him as particularly hostile to the interests of the West, and of whose pretensions to the presidency he had spoken in all places and upon all occasions in language of contempt. It can not be disguised that Mr. Clay was principally governed by the calculation that if General Jackson should now be elected his own prospects as a western man would be diminished, but that the election of Mr. Adams, through his support would secure him the position of "heir apparent" in the office of secretary of state and the future support of Mr. Adam's friends in New England. These selfish

<sup>6</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 23 and 25.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Swartwout of New York.

and ambitious calculations were no doubt the basis of this unnatural, this "unholy coalition" between Adams and Clay.<sup>8</sup>

A little later Mr. Clay's attempts to justify himself were published.<sup>9</sup> The last of March, 1825, Jackson came to Louisville, Kentucky, for a short stay. On the solicitations of citizens of Jeffersonville, Indiana, he crossed the river on Monday, April 4, and was greeted by a salute of twenty-four guns and a delegation of citizens with an address which closed:

Yes, General, the recollections of your eminent services and sacrifices, in the cause of our country, shall ever live green in our memories, and our children's children be taught to lisp with delight the name of Jackson.<sup>10</sup>

At a public dinner in Louisville, in honor of General Lafayette, General John Carr offered the toast:

General Andrew Jackson, Posterity will view with admiration the deeds of glory achieved by the hero whose motto was, 'The country sacred to freedom and law.'<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the year the personalities of Jackson, Clay and Adams and the circumstance of the "coalition" were kept before the people. One article showed how Jackson lived at home;<sup>12</sup> another gave an account of a reception to Jackson;<sup>13</sup> another reported a speech by Jackson;<sup>14</sup> another denied the rumor that Jackson would not consent to be a candidate in 1828;<sup>15</sup> another commented upon a speech by Jackson;<sup>16</sup> "Between the coalition and General Jackson how striking the contrast."

Jackson was nominated by the legislature of Tennessee as a candidate for the Presidency at the next election in the autumn of 1825 by a unanimous vote. The main features of the session were:

(1) A preamble showing the merits of Jackson.

<sup>8</sup> April 30, 1825.

<sup>9</sup> May 7, and 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, April 23, 1825.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, May 28, 1825.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1825.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1825.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1825.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, June 3, 1826.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1826.

(2). A resolution nominating him.

(3) Speeches by various members praising Jackson and pleading for the support of all Crawford men.<sup>17</sup>

The most significant thing in the entire movement at this time was the total lack of any issue except the personality of Jackson. Not only the Indiana, but the entire western spirit seemed to be that: Jackson is a man of the people. He was the people's choice for President. He has been kept out of office by corruption and the people's wronged hero must be vindicated. The great bulk of the voters saw no issue, no motive, no principle involved except the ultimate triumph of Jackson. The popular estimation of a public man was determined largely by the attitude of the man toward Jackson.

O. H. Smith relates an incident of one of his campaigns in which he was questioned as to whether he should vote for Jackson or not. When he replied that he would not, the questioner informed him that he could not get his vote.<sup>18</sup> Not only did it enter into the reputation of public men, but it also entered into the private and legal relation of the citizens. In Fayette county a libel suit of Robert Helm, a Clay man, against Gabriel Ginn, a Jackson man, was won with a jury of Jackson men by the following speech:

Gentlemen of the jury, we are trying one of the most important questions that has ever been tried in the county. I hold the affirmative of the issue, the counsel opposed to me the negative, and you are to decide it by your verdict. It is whether a Jackson man will regard his oath and find according to the law and the evidence. You are selected because the counsel for the defense supposed you would perjure yourselves to acquit their client. I believe that a Jackson man is just as honest as a Clay man, and will be no more likely to perjure himself to acquit a Jackson man than would a Clay man to convict him. Your names are on the record. The eyes of the people are upon you——<sup>19</sup>

This spirit of rugged honesty had been wounded to the heart by the apparent coalition between Clay and Adams and it never recovered its former respect for Clay and the victim of the plot became all the more dear to them because he was of their own kind, the real embodiment of their spirit.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1825.

<sup>18</sup> O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*. 86.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

The fierceness of the Jackson campaign was not abated in the least by the state election in 1825. Neither did the Jackson controversy have any effect upon the state election.

During the period of the rise of the Jacksonian spirit, the personality of the leadership in state politics had been swiftly changing. Early in 1824 Ratliff Boone, the lieutenant governor, had resigned to become a candidate for congress in the First district. James B. Ray of Brookville was elected speaker *pro tempore* of the senate.

Mr. Ray was a native of Kentucky, and a promising young lawyer. In person he was above the ordinary size, with a high forehead, rather projecting, and a long queue. He was a powerful stump speaker.<sup>20</sup> Mr. Ray was again elected speaker *pro tempore* of the senate in 1825. In a very short time (February 12, 1825) William Hendricks resigned his seat as governor to become United States senator. Thereupon Ray, as acting speaker of the senate, became governor for the unexpired term.

The contest for governor at the August (1825) election began early in March. David H. Maxwell, James B. Ray and Judges Scott and Blackford were probable candidates.<sup>21</sup> By the last of March the active candidates for governor were, James B. Ray and Isaac Blackford, one of the Adams electors at the presidential election. For lieutenant governor the candidates were Samuel Milroy, Elisha Harrison, General W. Johnston and John L. Thompson.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout the campaign the newspapers contained no mention of men or principles or party more than to give the formal announcement of the candidates for office. *Niles*, however, comments upon Ray's candidacy in rather unfriendly light:

It may be mentioned, I believe, as a thing without precedent among us; that Mr. James B. Ray has publicly offered himself as a candidate for the gubernatorial chair, and in a spirited public address solicited the suffrage of the people. A proceeding which we think can not be approved of, whatever be the merits of the individual in other respects.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 86.

<sup>21</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, March 4-5, 1825.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, March 26, 1825.

<sup>23</sup> *Niles' Register*, Aug. 20, 1825.

The non-partisan character of the contest is best shown by the vote. Ray who had been a partisan of Clay in the Presidential election received 13,040 votes to 10,218 for Isaac Blackford who headed the Adams electoral ticket; while John H. Thompson who had not been prominent in the Presidential campaign was elected lieutenant governor with a vote of 10,781 to 7,496 for Samuel Milroy who had been on the Jackson electoral ticket.<sup>24</sup> The Jackson leaders, however, were not enthusiastic about the election of Ray and the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* in an editorial was very pessimistic. It said:

We can not, nevertheless, refrain from remarking that in our humble opinion, the people of Indiana might have selected a person in almost every respect better qualified to preside at the helm of the State, than the individual whom they have elevated to that responsible situation.<sup>25</sup>

The congressional campaign of 1826 was almost equally free from the presidential question. In the First district the candidates gave public notice of their candidacy without reference to party.<sup>26</sup> Ratliff Boone, an active Jackson man, Thomas H. Blake, who had favored Clay, and Dr. Lawrence S. Shuler who had not been prominent in national politics were the candidates. In the Second district Jennings who had been a Clay man but in the election in congress voted for Jackson although he personally favored Adams, was unopposed. In the Third district Judge John Test, a Clay man, who had voted for Jackson in the election in congress was opposed by Oliver Hampton Smith, another Clay man. In the First district the main issue was the "northern canal" (the Wabash and Erie). All the candidates favored it but it was charged that Shuler did not. The charge brought from him the declaration that:

It is idle, preposterous and certainly inconsistent with candor and generosity to accuse any of the present candidates for a seat in the national legislature of unfriendly disposition toward internal improvements, for no man, we conscientiously believe, could be found who would in his right senses raise his voice against undertakings calculated to contribute so powerfully to the prosperity of the State in which we all have such a deep interest.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *House Journal*, 1825, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Aug. 27, 1825.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, and April 1, 1826.

<sup>27</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, July 29, 1826.

The charge, however, was enough to kill whatever chances he might have had. Boone was opposed in the election because he was a radical partisan, but no attempt to defend him on that ground was made. When Stout, the leading Jacksonian editor, allowed the statement that, "Colonel Boone makes a good representative and I hope he will be elected," to go into his paper it was with the explanation: "Inserted by request and paid for."<sup>28</sup> The charge of partisanship was too much for Boone to overcome and he was defeated by a vote of 5,223 for Blake to 5,202 for Boone while Shuler received only 1,626.<sup>29</sup> In the Second district, on account of the lack of opposition, there was no issue. In the Third district Mr. Smith and Mr. Test resorted to stump speaking and a chance alignment upon current topics. Smith says of the campaign:

Stump speaking was just coming into fashion. The people met our appointments by thousands. The judge had his high character to aid him. I brought to my aid a strong voice reaching to the very extremes of the largest crowds. The judge went in for graduation of public lands. I went for home gifts to actual settlers. My position was the most acceptable to the masses.<sup>30</sup>

Mr. Smith is, no doubt, entirely correct in his statements, for the vote of the district stood, Smith 6,005, Test 4,946. The facts of the election bear out the statement of the *Indianapolis Gazette* that: "The private opinions of members of Congress on the presidential question have never been inquired into as a test of qualification."<sup>31</sup> There was, however, a check in the agitation of national questions during this campaign. In the senatorial election that followed, James Noble, Jonathan Jennings, and Isaac Blackford, then candidates, were all administration men and the presidential question did not enter into the contest.<sup>32</sup>

Early in 1827 the personality of Jackson again became the political theme. The earlier agitation had apparently aimed at making Clay unpopular and at putting the people in a state of mind so that they could easily find fault with the adminis-

<sup>28</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 27, 1826.

<sup>29</sup> *Niles' Register*, Oct. 26, 1823.

<sup>30</sup> *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 80.

<sup>31</sup> Sept. 5, 1826.

<sup>32</sup> Mr. Noble was elected on the fourth ballot, the vote standing Noble 40, Blackford 28, Jennings 10. See *Niles' Register*, Jan. 6, 1827.

tration. The whole force of argument was, from now on, aimed at centering the attention of every one upon Jackson, and to provide political machinery to elect him. The attitude of the west toward Jackson was kept before the people. He was nominated by the Alabama legislature on January 10.<sup>33</sup> His election was predicted by the Louisville *Kentucky Advertiser*, February 15.<sup>34</sup> He was invited to visit New Orleans on the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1827. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* said:<sup>35</sup> "The friends of the 'coalition' were called upon by the authority presses of the city to be punctual in attendance and they obeyed the call." It was strongly denied that he had broken up the home of a certain Lewis Roberts and later married his divorced wife.<sup>36</sup> He was again compared to Washington.<sup>37</sup> Clay challenged him to prove the charges of coalition.<sup>38</sup> Jackson answered in a four column letter.<sup>39</sup> In every issue from September 8, 1827, until December 8, the *Western Sun* agitated the question of "coalition," and printed long letters, making direct charges also denials and counter charges.

After December 8, there is a change in the political attitude of the *Western Sun and General Advertiser*. Early in the year there had been a meeting of friends of Jackson at Baltimore to perfect plans for the presidential campaign. The meeting recommended to the friends of Jackson to call meetings and arrange themselves in such a manner as would be most likely to give efficiency to their measures and particularly to appoint delegates to meet in general convention in the city of Baltimore on the third Monday of May next<sup>40</sup> (1828). It also provided for representation in the convention. The Indiana Jackson convention was called for January 8, 1828. County conventions were held in Paoli, December 1, and at Charlestown, November 10,<sup>41</sup> in which delegates were appointed to the Indianapolis convention. Also committees of

<sup>33</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Feb. 17, 1827.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 17, 1827.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1827.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, May 5, 1827.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, June 23, 1827.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, June 21, 1827.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1827.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 24, 1827.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1827.

correspondence and vigilance committees were appointed. Jackson was commonly spoken of as the "People's Favorite." The Knox county convention at Vincennes, December 22, 1827<sup>42</sup> also appointed committees of correspondence and vigilance committees. It adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That this meeting have the utmost confidence in the pre-eminent abilities, firm patriotism and sincere devotion of General Jackson to the best interest of his country and that we will use all fair and honorable means in our power to promote his election.

Similar meetings were held in the various counties. The Jackson convention met in Indianapolis, January 8. The president of the convention, Israel F. Canby, said in an address to the convention:

The cause of Jackson is the cause of our country its liberties and constitution. The spirit of our constitution was violated by the election of Adams and the liberties of the country endangered by the baleful example. And it was in the person of Andrew Jackson that the rights of the people were assailed, so it is peculiarly proper that in his person should the violated rights of the people be vindicated.<sup>43</sup>

The convention chose Benjamin V. Beckes of Knox county, Jesse B. Durham of Jackson, Ross Smiley of Union, Ratliff Boone of Warrick and William Lowe of Monroe, as candidates for electors.<sup>44</sup> The convention also appointed a committee of general superintendence of ten persons, any five of whom should have authority to act, whose duty it should be to fill any vacancy which might occur in the electoral ticket: to announce the person who might be selected by the friends of Andrew Jackson in the different states as the candidate for vice-president; to adopt such measures as to them might appear necessary and proper to secure the united co-operation of all the friends of the election of Andrew Jackson throughout the state; to provide the funds necessary to defray such expenses as might be incurred and to adopt or recommend such measures as to them might appear expedient.<sup>45</sup> The committee was also empowered to fill vacancies in its own ranks or to add

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1827.

<sup>43</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Jan. 19, 1828.

<sup>44</sup> *Niles' Register*, Feb. 9, 1828.

<sup>45</sup> Resolutions of Convention, *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Jan. 26, 1828.

new members if necessary. The last resolution of the convention requested the friends of the election of Andrew Jackson:

To organize committees of correspondence in their counties and as far as possible committees of vigilance in their several townships and to transmit the names of the gentlemen composing such committee to the committee of general superintendence at Salem. And that the members of the committee of general superintendence be requested individually to use their exertions to give effect to this resolution.

The address of the convention<sup>46</sup> to the people of the state declared that:

The dawn of that political regeneration when those who fell with the first Adams' rose with the second was witnessed with terror by the largest proportion of the Republicans of the United States.<sup>46</sup>

It gave as its opinion that the spirit of the constitution had been violated by the election of Adams. It declared that the power of congress to elect, "can not be *arbitrary*; the representatives have a discretion which they should exercise reasonably in accordance with the will of their constituents." The election of Adams was attributed to corruption, bargain and sale, and intrigue. Adams was accused of favoring the "English form of government, Kings, lords, and commons as the *consummation of human wisdom*." Then he was specifically charged as being hostile to the interests of the west. The platform then discussed the career of Jackson. This varied career was taken up in detail to prove the statement: "Acts tell better than words," and the conclusion was reached "that upon his success in the coming election much of the future happiness and prosperity of the country depends." The line of *safe precedents* was condemned and it was declared "highly necessary for the permanency of our institutions and for the preservation of our liberty to break in upon the custom of electing the secretary of state to the Presidency."

On the question of tariff it was extremely vague in its declaration that:

In behalf of our constituents, in the name of the Democratic Republicans of the State we assert our unhesitating determination to support the friends of the country and the constitution, in the encouragement

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1828.

<sup>47</sup> *Niles' Register*, Feb. 9, 1828.

and protection of the National Industry, Agricultural, Manufacturing and Commercial, in the development of the resources of the country, and in all their efforts for its general improvement, and such we believe to be the opinions of Andrew Jackson; Andrew Jackson and his political friends in the West are in favor of a general and impartial protection of the National industry, but they are opposed to all mere sectional measures, and especially to all measures calculated to oppress the poor for the benefit of the rich.

An invitation was sent to General Jackson to visit Indiana on July 4, and the central committee were requested to act as a committee to meet him at Salem.<sup>47</sup> With the state convention, January 8, 1828, the campaign for the election of Jackson was begun, and the chief issue before the people was his personality and a vindication of the wrong done him at the last election. The friends of the administration were no less energetic in their efforts to elect their man than were the Jackson or anti-administration men. The "Administration" state convention was called at Indianapolis, January 12, 1828. Delegates were chosen by county conventions the same as in the Jackson convention. Practically the same county organization was effected as that used by their opponents. The county convention at Vincennes may be taken as an example.<sup>48</sup> It appointed a committee of correspondence and a vigilance committee. Its preamble was different from that of the Jacksonian convention in that it dealt with specific principles rather than the character of individuals. It said:

*Whereas*, The crisis has arrived which renders it necessary for the friends of manufacturing interests and of internal improvements to unite in favor of the principles and policies of the present administration, which have been uniformly expected to develop the resources, encourage the industry and insure the true independence of our country.

Its resolutions:

- (1) Expressed confidence in the Adams' administration;
- (2) Exonerated Clay from the charge of corruption;
- (3) Saw no need of advancing Jackson to a place above many others of his companions in arms;
- (4) Declared the characters of public men to be public property and deprecated the personal attacks of newspapers upon public men.

<sup>47</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Jan. 5, 1828.

The state convention met in Indianapolis, January 12, 1828. John Watts, an old Revolutionary soldier, was made president. Joseph Orr of Putnam county, John Watts of Dearborn, Joseph Bartholomew of Clark, Isaac Montgomery of Gibson, and Rev. James Armstrong of Monroe, were chosen as an electoral ticket.<sup>49</sup>

The address of the convention to the voters was prepared by a committee of fifteen.<sup>50</sup> An address by the administration men of Dearborn county gives us our best idea of their principles.<sup>51</sup> It points out that the only difference between the Jackson men and the Adams men was whether the election of John Quincy Adams or that of Andrew Jackson to the presidency would be best calculated to obtain the end of which they all professed to be aiming. It pointed out the fact that when they proposed to throw off the yoke of Great Britain and establish the old confederation their motto was "Measures, not Men." When they proposed to change the old confederation for the present their motto was "Measures, not Men." When they proposed to change the old dynasty for the new by placing the executive functions in the hands of Thomas Jefferson their motto was still "Measures, not Men," but now, to effect the proposed change, they must change their motto to "Men, not Measures." It gave as the reasons for supporting Adams:

- (1) Because of his firm and steady adherence to Republican principles;
- (2) Because of his tried abilities, untiring perseverance and stern unyielding integrity;
- (3) Because he was better acquainted with the great political concerns of this country than any man living and of course, better qualified to discharge the great and important trusts attached to that elevated station;
- (4) Because he was in favor of, and supported the American System;
- (5) Because he was friendly to the interests of the West;
- (6) Because he was a believer in and a professor of the doctrines of the Christian Religion, as well as a practitioner of its sublime precepts.

It denied charges that Adams had used public money to fit up the White House with gambling apparatus and tried to dis-

<sup>49</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Jan. 26, 1828.

<sup>50</sup> Given in the *Indianapolis Journal*, Indiana University, July 31, 1828.

<sup>51</sup> Lawrenceburg *Indiana Palladium*, Jan. 12, 1828.

prove the charge of corruption and showed that the Adams electors had received a larger popular vote than the Jackson electors had in the election of 1824. The campaign was now fairly launched. The Jacksonians had no issue except the vindication of Jackson while the motto of the administration was measures, not men. The administration forces stood for Adams only in so far as he embodied the principles that they stood for, namely, a protective tariff and internal improvements. Heretofore the question of internal improvements had been a local question. Governor Jennings had called the attention of the General Assembly to the need of roads and canals.<sup>52</sup> Governor Hendricks had advised his General Assembly to wait until the resources of the state were developed before attempting any system of internal improvements.<sup>53</sup> Governor Ray, in his message to the General Assembly in 1825, urged the necessity of adopting a system of internal improvements such as the building of railroads, plank roads and canals.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile the people were clamoring for an eastern outlet for commerce.<sup>55</sup> All people desired it regardless of politics. A candidate for state or local office who was not in favor of some system of internal improvements had no chance of election. In 1826 and 1827 the candidates for the General Assembly generally pledged themselves to promote internal improvements. William Polke, one of the candidates in Knox county, said:

I pledge myself to labor for the advancement of internal improvements, domestic manufacture, and measures which may be calculated to advance the local interests and general prosperity and improvement of our happy country.<sup>56</sup>

Internal improvements and the tariff were brought before the people of the states as subjects for political division by the General Assembly during their session of 1827-1828. This General Assembly was not partisan. It had, however, a group of very radical Jackson men who would not miss an opportunity to draw party lines. Their fight began early in the season.

<sup>52</sup> *House Journal*, 1818, p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> *House Journal*, 1822, p. 37.

<sup>54</sup> *House Journal*, 1825, p. 38.

<sup>55</sup> Logan Esarey, *Internal Improvements in Indiana*, 83 to 86.

<sup>56</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Feb. 24, 1827.

On December 13, 1827, the engrossed joint resolution of the General Assembly<sup>57</sup>

To instruct our Senators and request our representatives in Congress to use every reasonable effort to restrain the importation of hemp, raw wool and woolens, and to afford all possible encouragement to all articles of American growth and manufacture, and to give united co-operation to those of our sister States who encourage a national system of domestic manufacture and internal improvements

Was read a third time and passed by a vote of 16 to 5.<sup>58</sup> The five who voted against it were Canby, Givans, Milroy, Simonson and Smiley, all radical Jackson men. Their opposition did not come because either they or their constituents were opposed to the spirit of the resolution, so much, as it came because they felt that the General Assembly was trying to influence public opinion. Two days later they entered the following formal protest setting forth their views:<sup>59</sup>

In protesting against the joint resolution of the General Assembly which the Senate passed on the 13th inst.: "the undersigned feel it a duty which they owe to themselves, their political friends and their constituents to avow themselves the warm and decided friends of domestic manufacture, and internal improvements and pledge themselves to support honestly and heartily the friends of the country and the constitution in the encouragement and protection of its national industry in all its branches, agricultural, manufacturing and commercial in the development of the resources of the country and in their efforts for its general improvement. They object to the resolution because it is partial in its provisions and because they deem it inexpedient at this time to legislate on the subject. The undersigned consider the aforesaid resolution a direct censure of the conduct of our representatives in Congress, who voted against the woollen bill of last session—a measure partial in its provisions and unjust in its operation on the western country, for it imposed enormous duties on imported woolens, a measure in which the eastern States are particularly interested, while it left the manufacturers of iron, lead, and domestic distilled spirits, the growers of wool and hemp and the agriculture of the West in general without protection, and

<sup>57</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1827, p. 57.

<sup>58</sup> Presented in the National Senate by Wm. Hendricks, Feb. 20, 1828. See *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Mar. 29, 1828.

<sup>59</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1827, p. 63. In the House, Messrs. Samuel Judah, William Marshall, John M. Simon, Joseph Work, William Lowe and Eliphalet Allen protested against the resolution first because it was not within the power delegated to them by their constituents to petition on matters of national character. Second by the exclusion of "hemp, raw wool and woolens" and exclusion of foreign distilled spirits it discriminated indirectly against Indiana's staple product, corn. *House Journal*, 1827, p. 412.

when a proposition was made by a western member to include domestic distilled spirits in the bill it was rejected, thereby showing determination on the part of the friends of that measure to protect eastern and exclude western interests.

The undersigned firmly believe that any attempt by the General Assembly under any circumstance to influence public opinion in relation to the presidential election in favor of any candidate would be improper and break the trust confided in them by their constituents, and the result of the passage of this resolution will be to influence public opinion within this State, but more especially within adjoining States, as to the vote of Indiana at the approaching election of president of the United States. The undersigned deprecate the spirit of the last clause of the resolution in their opinion but too well calculated to engender sectional animosities and array State against State. They therefore feel it their bounden duty to enter this protest.

ISRAEL T. CANBY,  
ROSS SMILEY,  
THOMAS GIVENS,  
JOHN MILROY.

They were in a position that demanded all the strategy that they could muster. The entire state demanded internal improvements and stood for the American system and the Adams administration was the champion of the principles with the motto: "Measures, not Men," and was appealing to the country for a re-election. They were for Jackson regardless of measures and without measures. This protest on the part of the Jackson men was met by a counter protest by James Rardin, an ardent administration man. In protesting he said:

The undersigned, while he concedes great latitude to the minority in protesting against acts and proceedings of the majority, protests against the extension of that right, so far as to authorize gentlemen in the minority after their deliberate and solemn vote, denouncing the protection given by the general government to our domestic manufacturers and denying the powers of the general government to carry on and prosecute the present plan for internal improvements of the country, to then by way of protest, spread contrary opinions on the journals on those subjects and vindicate themselves from effects of an unpopular vote and ruinous policy by imputing to the friends of the American system and of this resolution a design to mislead the public mind on other political topics, and thereby excuse themselves by holding up the proposition as a mere political maneuver, and slight of hand trick of the friends of the present administration.

The undersigned admits that the circumstance of the minority being anxious for the promotion of a particular individual for the presidential

chair may be a good reason for their opposition to the policy in the resolution recommended, but denied that that circumstance is of itself sufficient to alter the nature or the character of the policy recommended. The undersigned further protests against the indulgence asked on the part of the minority, to object against the passage of this resolution, because it does not embrace other productions of the United States, because in reality that minority suggests no such amendments except foreign distilled spirits and conceding that such a cause is calculated to impose upon the public and give such minority credit for principles they do not advocate. James Rariden.<sup>60</sup>

This is the very first instance of the tariff or internal improvements ever being discussed in the state General Assembly as a national issue, likely to effect a national election.

The Jackson men were not satisfied and insisted on urging the presidential question. On January 22, 1828, Senator John Milroy of Orange and Lawrence counties, read a resolution which was seconded, requesting the governor of this state to correspond with General Andrew Jackson relative to his construction of the constitution of the United States on the power of congress to appropriate money for the general system of internal improvements and their power to lay such protecting duties as will encourage domestic manufacturers, also to correspond with John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, relative to certain votes said to have been given by him in the senate of the United States against the organization of Louisiana and relative to a certain coalition said to have been formed between that gentleman and Mr. Clay.<sup>61</sup>

Mr. Milroy asked the senate to agree to pass the resolution by a unanimous vote. They refused to do this and Mr. Milroy withdrew the resolution. He had, however, brought the presidential contest into question again and it was not to be checked until it had forced the issue upon the Jackson men. Mr. Graham of Jackson, Scott, and Bartholomew, immediately offered the following resolution:

*Whereas*, The friends of General Jackson in the western states advocate his election on the grounds of his being friendly to internal improvements and the advocate of judicious tariff for the protection of American manufacturers; and

*Whereas*, The friends of the same distinguished individual in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi ad-

<sup>60</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1827, p. 64.

<sup>61</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1827, p. 225-226.

vocate his claim to the first office of the nation, on account of his opposition to the above measures or system of policy, therefore for the purpose of enabling the citizens of Indiana to ascertain what are the real sentiments of General Jackson and to give them an opportunity to vote understandingly at the next presidential election, in reference to these great interests.

*Resolved*, By the senate that his excellency, the governor, he requested to address a respectable letter to General Andrew Jackson, inviting him to state explicitly whether he favors that construction of the constitution of the United States which authorizes congress to appropriate money for the purpose of making internal improvements in the several states, and whether he is in favor of such a system of protective duties, for the benefit of American manufacturers, as will in all cases where the raw material and the ability to manufacture it exist in our country secure the patronage of our own manufacture to the exclusion of those of foreign countries. And whether, if elected President of the United States, he will in that capacity recommend, foster and support the American system.

*Resolved*, That his excellency, the governor, be requested as soon as he receives the answer of General Jackson to the letter contemplated in the preceding resolution, to cause the same to be published together with these resolutions in the newspapers of Indianapolis.<sup>62</sup>

This resolution carried by a vote of fourteen to five—Canby, Givens, Milroy, Simonson and Smiley forming the negative. The attempt of the Jackson men to have an embarrassing resolution submitted to Adams reacted and Jackson was the one to suffer the embarrassment, but not without a protest on the part of his friends. The next day, January 23, 1828, Senator John Milroy entered the following formal protest:

I do, for myself and the friends of General Jackson, protest against the resolution of this senate of the 22nd inst. for the following reasons, viz.: (1) That the resolution read in my place was not with any intention meant for record, but for the following reasons: That some of the friends of the administration had solicited some enactment or resolution to procure an explanation of his views on the subject of internal improvements and domestic manufacturers and had proposed a resolution which I desired to offer, which I agreed to on condition of having the right to alter, amend, change, etc., which was handed to me and on considering the propriety of such legislation did and do now consider such subjects improper subjects for legislation.

And further believing that General Jackson has made and given such evidence of his views on those subjects that any legislative pro-

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225-226.

ceedings with a view to draw from him any further declaration on those subjects, would be a direct charge on his integrity and consistency as an honest man and politician.

His votes in the senate of the United States, will fully show that he is the firm and decided friend of internal improvements to the full extent that the friends of that system do themselves construe the constitution to authorize. And that his votes on the tariff of 1824 prove also that he did go as far as the friends of that system. From these numerous votes given by him and which stand recorded on the *Journals* of the senate of the United States, when he was a member, with letters which he has written to individuals using arguments to prove the propriety of such a system of domestic manufacture, and the propriety of protecting duties, etc.

*Whereas*, Though legislative proceedings on these subjects are by me considered as an attack on his integrity, I believe were his friends to write him that he would give his views in full which would shut the mouths of his enemies on such subjects.<sup>63</sup>

The next day, January 24, the members who supported the Graham resolution declared in a signed statement that they had no intention of drawing Jackson out on the subjects of Internal Improvements and the Tariff until Mr. Milroy started the controversy.<sup>64</sup>

On January 30, Governor Ray sent the Senate resolution to General Jackson, accompanied by a long letter with the questions:

Do you believe that congress has the right to appropriate money from the common treasury to make roads and canals?

Do you believe that congress has the power to make internal improvements through state sovereignties without the consent of the states or is it your opinion that that body can only appropriate money and put it under the agency of the state for application?

What are your present opinions of Tariff?

How far are you willing to go in imposing duties to protect American Manufacturers?

Are you a friend of the American system?

Are you in favor of the Woolens bill that was before the last congress?

Are you in favor of a protective tariff on imports?<sup>65</sup>

The governor assured the General that this letter was not dictated by any other motive than friendship.

<sup>63</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1827, p. 249.

<sup>64</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1827, 260.

<sup>65</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 19, 1828.

In reply Jackson said:

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's letter of the 30th ultimo inclosing resolutions of the state of Indiana, adopted as it appears with the view of ascertaining my opinions on certain political topics. The respect which I entertain for the executive and senators of your state, excludes from my mind the idea that an unfriendly intention dictated the interrogatories which are proposed. But I will confess my regret at being forced by this sentiment, to depart in the smallest degree from that determination on which I have always acted. Not, Sir, that I would wish to conceal my opinions from the people upon any political or national subjects; but as they were in various ways promulgated in 1824. I am apprehensive that my appearance before the public at this time, may be attributed, as has already been the case, to improper motives.

With these remarks I pray you, sir, to state to the senate of Indiana that my opinions at present are precisely the same as they were in 1823 and 1824, when they were communicated by letter to Dr. Coleman of North Carolina, and when I voted for the present tariff and for appropriations for internal improvements. As that letter was written when the divisions of sentiment, on this subject were as strongly marked as they are now, in relation both to the system, it is enclosed herein, and I beg the favor of your excellency to consider it a part of this communication. The occasion out of which it arose was embraced with a hope of preventing any doubt, misconstruction, or necessity for further inquiry respecting my opinions on the subject to which you refer particularly in those states which you have designated as cherishing a policy at variance with your own. To preserve our invaluable constitution and be prepared to repel the invasions of a foreign foe, by the practice of economy, and the cultivation within ourselves of the means of national defense and independence should be, it seems to me, the leading objects of any system which aspires to the name "American," and of every prudent administration of our government.

I trust, sir, that these general views taken in connection with the letter enclosed and the votes referred to, will be received as a sufficient answer to the inquiries suggested by the resolution of the senate. I will further observe to your excellency that my views of constitutional power and American policy were imbibed in no small degree in the times and from the ages of the Revolution, and that my experience has not disposed me to forget their lessons. And in conclusion I will repeat that my opinions remain as they existed in 1823-1824 uninfluenced by the hopes of personal aggrandizements, and that I am sure, they will never deprive me of the proud satisfaction of having always been a sincere and consistent Republican.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,  
ANDREW JACKSON.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Niles Register*, May 3, 1828, also the *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, May 10, 1828.

The letter referred to was sent by General Jackson on April 26, 1824, to Dr. L. E. Coleman of Warrenton, North Carolina, in answer to an inquiry addressed by the Doctor to Jackson. It said in part:

You asked my opinions on the tariff. I answer that I am in favor of a judicious examination and revision of it, and so far as the tariff bill before us embraces the design of fostering, protecting and preserving within ourselves the means of national defense and independence particularly in the state of war I would advocate and support it. The experience of the late war [1812] ought to teach us a lesson and one never to be forgotten. If our liberty and republican form of government procured for us by our revolutionary fathers were worth the blood and treasure at which they were obtained, it surely is our duty to protect and defend them. Can there be an American patriot who saw the privations, dangers and difficulties experienced for the want of proper means of defense during the last war, who would be willing again to hazard the safety of our country if embroiled, or to rest it for defense on the precarious means of national resource to be derived from commerce in a state of war with a maritime power who might destroy that commerce to prevent us obtaining the means of defense and thereby subdue us. I am sure he does not deserve to enjoy the blessings of freedom. Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. The same providence has blessed us with the means of national defense. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which he has extended to us we deserve not the continuation of his blessing. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron and copper, and given us climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the grand materials of our national defense they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed on a fair competition with those of Europe, and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war.

Beyond this, I look at the tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor and to revenue; and with a view to discharge our national debt. I am one of those who do not believe a national debt a national blessing, but rather a curse to the republic: in so much as it is calculated to raise around the administration a monied aristocracy, dangerous to the liberties of the country. This tariff—I mean a judicious one—presages more fanciful than real dangers. I will ask what is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American a market for his surplus product? Except for cotton he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad that there is too much labor employed in agriculture, and that the channels of labor should be multiplied? Common sense at once

<sup>67</sup> *Niles' Register*, June 12, 1824, also *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, May 10, 1828.

points out the remedy. Draw from agriculture this superabundance of labor; employ it in mechanism and manufacture, thereby creating a home market for your bread stuffs and distributing labor to the most profitable account, and benefit to the country will result. Take from agriculture in the United States six hundred thousand men, women and children, and you will at once give a home market for more breadstuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time that we should become a little more Americanized; and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England feed our own, or else in a short time by continuing our present policy we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves.

It is thereby my opinion that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of that defense within ourselves, on which the safety of our country and liberty depends; and last though not least give a proper distribution to our labor which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community.

This is a short outline of my opinions generally on the subject of your inquiry and believing them correct and calculated to further the prosperity and happiness of my country, I declare to you, I would not barter them for any office or situation of temporal character that could be given me.

I have presented you with my opinions freely because I am without concealment and should indeed despise myself if I could believe myself capable of desiring the confidence of any means so ignoble.<sup>67</sup>

This letter of Jackson's proved to be one of the most history-making letters ever sent into the state. Until now the Jackson forces had been clinging to the personality of Jackson. They could justify themselves before the world by no reason or cause except righteous indignation that so just and honest a man as he should suffer through the workings of corrupt public men. Moreover they were met at every turn by the administration forces, with the cry of "measures, not men" and preaching internal improvements and protective tariff. The Jackson forces must have a principle a "measure" or their case was at least a difficult one. The word "judicious" in Jackson's letter to Dr. Coleman gave them their long desired measure. Hereafter, instead of being the "friends" to the election of Andrew Jackson," they were styled the friends of a "judicious tariff." As soon as the letter was published the Jacksonian press and politicians had their weapon to meet the challenge of the Adams forces. The Adams men in great numbers, and without stopping to analyze the real meaning

of the letter—if it had any, flocked to the Jackson standard. Three of the Administration Central Committeemen, John Hartley, Michael Thom, and William Johnson, resigned and declared themselves in favor of Jackson.<sup>68</sup> Hartley, in offering his resignation, said:

The plain, satisfactory and unequivocal declaration of General Jackson in his correspondence with Governor Ray upon the resolution of the senate of our state has wrought a thorough and complete change.

This was typical of the entire state. The Jackson forces gained strength daily while the Administration men seemed to realize that their cause was lost.

On February 22, 1828, the Jackson central committee met at Salem,<sup>69</sup> and perfected the organization within the state by providing for the forming of new and filling up old correspondence committees in the various counties. It also nominated John C. Calhoun for the vice-presidency. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser's* account of a meeting in Gibson county is typical of the spirit and phraseology of campaign literature during the remainder of the year. It says:

A very numerous meeting of the Jacksonians friendly to the American System of Internal Improvements and to protecting agriculture and domestic manufacture by a *judicious, just and fair tariff*, that will protect in an equal degree the industry and surplus productions of each section of our common country, was held at the court house in Princeton, Gibson county, Indiana, on Saturday, April 26 1828. A committee of correspondence and vigilance committees were appointed and resolutions were passed commending Jackson's letter to Dr. Coleman.<sup>70</sup>

On May 5, this committee of correspondence provided for the distribution of one hundred copies of the address of the convention of April 26, also for the distribution of a hundred copies of the proceedings of the committee meetings.<sup>71</sup> In this way the Coleman letter was put within reach of every voter in the state. The central committee met at various times through the year.<sup>72</sup> Their work seems to have consisted in

<sup>68</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 26, 1828.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1828.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1828.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1828.

<sup>72</sup> The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* contains notices of meetings at Salem, 3rd Monday in April (12), 1st Monday in May (Apr. 26), Oct. 18, (Oct. 4, 1822).

sending out literature and directing the work of the various county committees of correspondence.

The tariff literature of the campaign was selected from all parts of the country. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, the leading Jackson paper, published, on February 23, an extract from the Ohio Jackson convention address. It condemned the Adams administration for insincerity on the tariff and quoted extracts from the Coleman letter to show Jackson's attitude. It also called attention to his votes in the senate, March 8th and 15th it published a report of the committee on manufactures which recommend the alteration of several duties on imports, on April one from the *National Journal* to show that when the pending tariff bill was reported by the committee, the five Jackson members of this committee reported favorably while the two administration members were opposed. In the same issue it published an open letter by the Jackson central committee. This letter reviewed Jackson's record while in congress; emphasized the phrase "judicious tariff," charged that the Adams Administration was trying to strangle the whole tariff question and finally showed that the will of the people had been overthrown in the election of Adams. On June 14, it quoted a letter of Jackson to Colonel R. Paterson from the *Maryland Advocate*:

Upon the success of our domestic manufactures as the handmaid of agriculture and commerce depends in a great measure the independence of our country. And I assure you that no man can feel more sensibly than I do the necessity for protecting them.

While the Jackson committees and press were busy in the work of perfecting their organization and educating the voters, the Administration men were no less active. The work of organization was done fully as early by them as by their opponents. We have noticed that,<sup>73</sup> "The friends of the Administration met at Princeton in Gibson county, February 19, 1828, and appointed committees of vigilance and correspondence for the several townships in the county." This was more than two months earlier than the Jackson convention which was held April 26. Their central committee was also just as active as the Jackson central committee. It met at Salem,

<sup>73</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Mar. 8, 1828.

March 3, 1828.<sup>74</sup> Bad weather prevented a full attendance and it adjourned until the third Monday in April, then to nominate a candidate for vice-president, also to appoint a candidate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rev. James Armstrong, who gave as his reasons, religious duties. At the meeting on April 21, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania was nominated for the vice-presidency and Amaziah Morgan of Rush county was placed on the electoral ticket. They arranged for an address to the people of the state, enlarged the central committee, asked the secretaries to determine by correspondence the will of the people in the various counties and provided for call meetings. As in the case of their opponents the Administration forces selected their literature from the entire country. They used the address of the Virginia Anti-Jackson convention to the people. It showed that Jackson was unqualified for the presidency.

The Jackson forces were called upon to meet a rather serious charge against their hero. The charge was made that Jackson had allowed six militiamen to be tried by court martial and put to death by shooting.<sup>76</sup> He was severely criticised for it while the anti-administration papers were kept busy explaining and justifying. The evidence was carefully reviewed and mutiny was proven.<sup>77</sup> It was shown that General Duncan McArthur, William Henry Harrison, and Washington had done the same thing. Finally the military documents of the case were published in full.<sup>78</sup> Jackson was also accused of voting for a property qualification for voters while in the Tennessee legislature.<sup>79</sup> His attitude in the arrest of Aaron Burr on the charges of treason was seriously questioned and his friends had to justify his conduct.<sup>80</sup> The question of religion was also brought into the campaign and Jackson was both defended and condemned by leading church people.<sup>81</sup> In June, the newspapers and Jacksonian committees over the State had to warn the voters against a "garbled and spurious

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 22.

<sup>76</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Mar. 8, 1828.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1828.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, and June 14.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1828.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1828.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1828.

life of Jackson."<sup>82</sup> It proved Jackson to be one of the greatest dunces and blunderbusses in the world. Even in his military campaigns in every case where he won a victory it was most logically proven that he should have been defeated. The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* charged that<sup>83</sup> it was franked into the First district by Colonel Blake who hoped to be elected to congress by the votes of the Jackson men.

Equally vile charges were made against Adams. It was charged that he was in favor of the slave trade.<sup>84</sup> He was also charged with driving away an old Revolutionary soldier seeking aid when he came to Washington.<sup>85</sup> The *Western Sun* makes the incident the basis of a half column article condemning Adams. The article begins:

Ingratitude more strong than traitors' arms exemplified in the conduct of John Quincy Adams towards the patriots of the Revolution.<sup>86</sup>

While the Jackson forces were busy denying charges and making counter charges they were also busily lauding Jackson. Statements made in former years by Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, J. Q. Adams, H. Niles and others were published to prove Jackson's moral worth and his military ability.<sup>87</sup> The editorial columns were largely devoted to him. The *Western Sun and General Advertisers* is characteristic of the Jackson press, when it says:

We appeal to the good sense of the people and ask them if it is republican, that all the treasure and highest honors should be poured out upon one individual. Had not Mr. Adams been well paid for the services he had ever rendered? Why should the public and private character of General Jackson be annulled upon the altar of Mr. Adams' ambition? Why do we see the poisoned arrows of envenomed slander hurled at the amiable partner of the patriot hero? Is it not that Mr. Adams may enjoy the pomp and pride of office for four years more.<sup>88</sup>

The open letter with questions meant to perplex but not be answered was also characteristic. The letters of "Southern" is typical of this kind of literature. He said:

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, June 21, 1828.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1828.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1828.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, July 26, 1828.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1828.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, July 18, and Oct. 25, 1828.

<sup>88</sup> Mar. 1, 1828.

The following remarks are addressed to the unprejudiced and moderate friends of the administration. We appeal to their good sense, to their knowledge of the events that have happened since 1789, and if they can reconcile with their better judgment the support they give to Mr. Adams, we will have to admit the blindness of partiality which will not suffer reason to use and exercise all of its powers.<sup>89</sup>

He then reviews our history for the time mentioned. The speech of Francis Boylies of Massachusetts, copied in the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* (September 20, 1828), is typical of both the printed and spoken oration of the campaign as well as being an embodiment of the real feelings of the people on the subject. He said:

He (Jackson) had not the privilege of visiting the *courts of Europe at the public expense* and mingling with the kings and great men of the earth and of glittering in the beams of royal splendor. He grew up in the wilds of the West, but he was the noblest tree in the forest. He was not dandled into consequence by lying in the cradle of state, but inured from infancy to the storms and tempests of life, his mind was strengthened to fortitude and fashioned to wisdom.

As the time for the election approached there was evidence of corruption. The Cincinnati *Advertiser* warned the people of Indiana that when it was too near election to correct the report, the Administration forces would start the report that General Jackson was dead.<sup>90</sup> The distribution of tickets on election day and even prior to that day gave a chance for corruption, and Jackson papers complained of the use of a ticket headed "Jackson Electoral Ticket" but containing the names of three administration electors and two Jackson men.<sup>91</sup> We find no record of irregular practice on the part of the Jacksonians. The explanation, no doubt, is in the lack of record rather than the lack of irregularities, for the Jackson forces were too wise to allow a chance of advantage to pass.

As election day approached the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* charged its readers in an editorial (October 25 and November 1).

<sup>89</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Sept. 20, 1828.

<sup>90</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Sept. 20, 1828.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 15.

## OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

Freemen cheer the hickory tree.  
 In storms its boughs have sheltered thee,  
 O'er freedom's land its branches wave  
 'Twas planted on the Scion's grave.

Jacksonians, do your part. The day comes hastening apace when it is your indispensable duty to evince your gratitude to your country's savior by thrusting upon him your votes for the highest office within the gift of free men. Let nothing prevent you attending the polls. Let every one of you come and bring his neighbor. Lull not yourselves in the lap of security. The enemy are strong and powerful, but by united effort they can be beaten. They are backed by the power and patronage of the government, but we by the immutable justice of our cause. Let nothing discourage you. By union and concentration the battle can be won. Our numbers are sufficient but we have none to spare.

Indianians, the third day of next November will be the only opportunity you will ever have to vote for Andrew Jackson. Then why not make use of it? Arouse from your sleep of security. The enemy are at hand flushed with the spoils of a former triumph. Arise, return the honor of your country. Let it not hereafter be said that republics are ungrateful.

This passionate appeal closed the campaign.

The election returns showed that Jackson carried the State by 5,309.<sup>92</sup> The *Western Sun and General Advertiser* rejoiced that a "backwoodsman" had been elected and insisted that it was a contest between Aristocracy and Democracy.<sup>94</sup> In fact, it was as nearly so as the contest between Jefferson and the elder Adams, had been, for very nearly the same states that voted for Jefferson voted for Jackson, and those that voted for the first Adams also voted for his son. As a last admonition the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* said:

As the presidential election may be considered as ended, we advise the "hot tongued" of both parties "to keep cool" and to judge the tree by its fruits. Let no man now condemn General Jackson in anticipation of imaginary evils. Much, too much, of the vilest abuse has been illiberally showered on both the candidates for the presidency.<sup>95</sup>

The rejoicing over victory was not in proportion to the anger over defeat at the past election. The responsibility of office was a new burden that they had not considered, and the perplexity of the situation outweighed the rejoicing over victory.

(To be continued.)

<sup>92</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Dec. 6, 1828.

<sup>94</sup> Dec. 27, 1828.

<sup>95</sup> Nov. 29, 1828.

# Joseph Baldwin

PIONEER OF THE NORMAL-SCHOOL IDEA IN INDIANA AND  
FATHER OF THE MISSOURI NORMAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

By J. B. VAN BUSKIRK, Monticello

At Burnettsville in White county, Indiana, stands an old building now occupied as a dwelling, which according to local tradition was the home of the first normal school in Indiana. It was conducted by Joseph Baldwin, who came from Pennsylvania and opened a normal school at Burnettsville in 1857 at the solicitation of his brother-in-law, Elder William Griggsby, then pastor of the Christian church at Burnettsville. This little village, known in early years as Farmington, had long shown an ambition to become an educational center, and five years before Mr. Baldwin's arrival a stock company had been formed which resulted in the erection of the building above mentioned, to be used strictly for school purposes. The school was called the Farmington Seminary, and the first teacher was Isaac Mahurin, the organizer of the stock company and founder of the school. He was a Methodist and a graduate of an eastern college. He only remained two years and was succeeded by an Associate Presbyterian named Hugh Knickerbocker, who continued the school three years longer. Up to that time the school had been known in common parlance sometimes as the Seminary and sometimes as the academy, meaning in the popular mind a place where more than one teacher was employed and where something higher than the Three R's was taught. Tradition says that though the community was proud of its distinction as a center of higher learning there was a division of sentiment when physiology was introduced as one of the branches of study, some of the fastidious considering it an innovation bordering on the vulgar. But with literary societies, singing schools and writing schools as evening accessories the public mind was so diverted that even the study of man's internal economy ceased to cause rancor.

At the end of the Knickerbocker regime the time seemed opportune for Joseph Baldwin to enter the field with his ideas

of teacher training, and he came. He was an enthusiast on the subject of normal schools and had the energy, judgment and fluency of speech to give effect to his enthusiasm. He got at once in touch with the public by canvassing the country for miles around, sowing circulars and posters broadcast and making public addresses on the subject uppermost in his mind. As a result his school opened with a surprisingly large enrollment. It soon overtaxed the capacity of the Seminary, and the Christian church near by was used to accommodate the overflow. Among the students of this school was William H. Calkins of LaPorte, later representative in congress from the Tenth district of Indiana, and a number of other young men who afterward reached distinction either professionally or politically. On account of the success of this school, Burnettsville, once nicknamed by scoffers "Git-away," came to be spoken of as "the Athens of White county," and it deserved the name. White county bestowed upon the head of its school the highest honor within her gift for men of erudition—the office of school examiner, and he held it as long as he remained in the county.

While in the high tide of his success at Burnettsville he sought a larger field and in 1859 removed to Kokomo. There he founded a normal school which continued to operate for some years after he had severed his connection with it. He also opened a similar school at Logansport and while there he was much in demand as a lecturer at teachers' institutes in other counties. Here in 1867 his Indiana career closed. In that year he went to Missouri and was lost to Hoosier view and in a few years practically to Hoosier thought. But to him the closing of Indiana's gates behind him opened the pathway to enduring fame, and his subsequent career, if no other part of his life, entitles him to the space here allotted to him. To his Missouri biographer, Prof. E. M. Violette, we are indebted for a rich store of material, from which much that follows has been compiled.

Joseph Baldwin was born at Newcastle, Pennsylvania, and was educated at Bethany college, Virginia, where he sat under the personal instruction of Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Disciples' church, who was then in his prime. In 1850 he was married to Miss Ella Sophronia Fluhart of Ohio, and

went immediately to Missouri, where he opened an academy at Platte City. The next year he and his wife went to Savannah, that state, where for three years they were engaged jointly in the management of a young ladies' boarding school. Even at that time he had taken high rank among the teachers of the state, for at a meeting of the State Teachers' association held at St. Louis he was elected one of its vice-presidents. Among the distinguished educators present at that session was the great Horace Mann, from whom he drew much helpful and stimulating inspiration. After four years' residence in Missouri he returned to Pennsylvania, where he attended the Lawrence County Normal school and also taught for a time in the Millersville Normal school. His mind was evidently imbued with the thought of teacher training, though the normal-school idea at that time had barely obtained a foothold in this country and normal schools were limited to the far eastern states.

Arriving at Burnettsville in 1857, he was given his first opportunity to put into effect his idea of a training school for teachers. The success of his school has already been narrated. During his residence at Kokomo his teaching activities were suspended for a brief period of service in the Union army, and on his return he opened a school at Logansport which continued until he entered upon his work in Missouri in 1867.

It so happened that the same Elder Griggsby who had persuaded him to come to Burnettsville was then a resident of Kirksville and had been urging him ever since 1860 to come to Missouri. He finally yielded to his brother-in-law's persuasions on learning that a school at Kirksville known as the Cumberland academy had been abandoned by the Presbyterians and the academy building was seeking an occupant. After looking over the field he leased the building and opened a private school known as the North Missouri Normal school. He at once began a publicity campaign similar in method to the one he had conducted in connection with the Burnettsville school, except that his keynote from the first was state supervision of teacher training. After three and a half years of this kind of propaganda, including much intercession with legislatures, he had the satisfaction of seeing a state normal school system adopted and the school at Kirksville taken over

as part of the system. The achievement was so notable and Professor Baldwin's leadership in the movement so generally acknowledged that he afterward became known as "the father of the Missouri normal school system."

Professor Baldwin's first step after deciding to locate at Kirksville was the selection of a faculty for his school, and incidentally this proceeding introduces into this narrative several other White county people. His staff of teachers consisted of himself and five associates, two of whom, Mr. and Mrs. Frank L. Ferris, had been White county teachers. They had taught schools at Idaville, Burnettsville and Logansport, and Professor Baldwin, having personally observed their work, had conditionally engaged their services before leaving Indiana. Professor Ferris was assigned to the principalship of the model school established in connection with the normal, while his wife was employed as teacher of the intermediate department. Professor Ferris also assisted Professor Baldwin during the summer of 1867 in his canvass of northern Missouri in the interests of the new normal school. After three years he severed his connection with the normal and became principal of the Kirksville public schools. Later he went west on account of failing health and died at Denver, November 18, 1873. He was an ordained minister of the Universalist church but never held a pastorate. Through the influence of Professor Ferris two other young men of this vicinity were drawn to Kirksville and became students of the Baldwin institution. These were B. F. Heiny, who later became cashier of the National bank of Kirksville, and H. C. Langley, who became a minister in California.

The first year of the new school, though full of promise, yielded no financial profit to the hard-working president. In fact it fell \$315 short of paying expenses. But the second year showed a gratifying gain in attendance and after paying all expenses left \$1,185 in the president's pocket. From that time on the school was no longer an experiment but on the contrary such a marked success as to make all Missouri "sit up and take notice."

The law finally enacted provided for two normal school districts with a school in each, and then began a contest for the location of the schools. Largely through Professor Bald-

win's efforts in arousing the people of Adair county to the point of a bond issue of \$100,000, Kirksville was finally selected as the site, the Baldwin school as the nucleus, and Joseph Baldwin as the principal of the First District Normal school. Work was begun on a new building, and on February 13, 1873, it was dedicated with impressive ceremonies and great rejoicing. For eleven years Professor Baldwin continued at the head of this state institution of his own creation, and then, yielding to the pioneer instinct which seemed to have been born in him, he accepted the presidency of the Sam Houston Normal institute at Huntsville, Texas. This school had been established only two years before and was then the only state normal school in Texas. After holding this position ten years he was elected to the chair of pedagogy in the University of Texas, and at the close of his active work there in 1897 he was made professor emeritus of pedagogy in that institution. His death occurred January 13, 1899, at Austin, Texas, in the 72nd year of his age.

Professor Baldwin was a man of wonderful energy and diligence. Besides his work in the school room he found time to answer many calls as a public speaker on educational and religious topics. He was an elder in the Christian church and occasionally officiated as a minister. He was also in demand as a writer, making frequent contributions to educational journals and at one time being assistant editor of the *American School Journal*. He was the author of two books, one on *School Management* and one on *Elementary Psychology*. Both had a wide reading in this country, and both were adopted by the government of Canada for the schools of that country. His *School Management* was translated into Spanish for use in Mexico and South America.

The high regard in which he was held at Kirksville was shown not only during his active work there but for many years afterward. Twelve years after he had severed his connection with the school and gone to Texas a special day was set apart during the commencement week to be observed as Baldwin Day. He was the guest of honor on that occasion, and no other day in the history of the institution ever brought such a large attendance of former students, many of them distinguished men, as that memorable day in June, 1893. Upon

his death five years later memorial exercises were held at the normal school, and an entire evening was devoted to honoring his memory as the founder of the school and of the normal school system of the state.

Indiana may well consider it an honor to have been the nursery of Joseph Baldwin's aspirations and the laboratory of his first experiments.

# The Family History of Robert Owen

By ARTHUR H. ESTABROOK

Eugenics Record Office, Carnegie Institution of Washington

This is a day of great achievements and momentous jumps in science, engineering and agriculture; even in war. Recently new weapons of slaughter, poisonous gas, aerial bombs, guns with a range of fifty miles and other inventions and developments in every field of human activity have become matters of every-day occurrence. One day the world acknowledges the genius who accomplishes these things, the next he is forgotten or overshadowed in the presence of so many other persons of marked ability. We have become accustomed to new methods of thought and procedure and new systems of government.

A hundred years ago a man with a vision and a message stood out with striking prominence. Such a man was Robert Owen who lived for an ideal and whose ruling passion was, in the words of his son, Robert Dale Owen, "the love of his kind, individually and collectively." Robert Owen at thirty-five had made almost a million dollars as a manufacturer; he then retired from business and devoted the remainder of his life to the betterment of the working man, to the formation of co-operative societies, the carrying out of a community experiment, to agitation for the enactment of laws prohibiting child labor, for factory inspection laws, and for a better and fuller education of the children in the schools; this all as long ago as the period of 1800.

Robert Owen was born of humble parentage at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, Wales, May 14, 1771. His schooling was limited, for at the age of ten years he went to London to work as an apprentice to a Stamford draper. He worked in the draper shops until the age of eighteen and during this time was a student of books and a great reader. He then went into a partnership with a wire-worker named Jones making new machinery, just then invented, for spinning cotton. He soon left Jones and went into business for himself. He prospered, and shortly became the superintendent of a Manchester cotton

mill. Here he came intimately in contact with the debased conditions of the working man, a thing which he had seen and noticed previously. He viewed with fear the frequent riots which showed the discontent in the factory towns. He saw children swallowed up at an early age in the industrial whirl, so young that they had no opportunity for schooling.

Being eminently successful as a cotton mill superintendent, on January 1, 1800, he assumed control of the New Lanark (Scotland) cotton mills, which belonged to his father-in-law, David Dale. The latter had been a most considerate mill owner and yet Owen found the same miserable industrial and home conditions in New Lanark. Owen established free schools for the children, reduced the hours of labor, and improved the conditions of the factory people by the teaching of cleanly habits. He established stores where the people could buy at a slightly higher price than the mere cost of the goods and soon the people of New Lanark showed the effects of these changed conditions in better efficiency in the factories. The place soon had an international reputation and visitors came from all over the world to study Owen's methods and results. Thus Owen's mills prospered, and at one time, when all other mills were closed for lack of cotton, Owen continued to pay wages to his employees, a thing previously unheard of. Even though Owen's mills were eminently successful financially, his partners did not like his methods of dealing with the working classes and many also accused him of heresy in his moral and religious teachings. He was finally forced out of the New Lanark mills, and sold his share in them for \$800,000, but the working people in the town had become a prosperous and contented people because of the better conditions under which they lived and worked.

From then on Robert Owen devoted all his time to his public activities and he and his followers became more active and more insistent for the recognition of the rights of the workers. He constantly labored for laws protecting childhood in industry and for free education of all children in England. He secured the enactment of laws with the assistance of Sir Robert Peel for the protection of child labor and these laws are the first on the statute books in the history of nations providing for the interference of the government in local business

affairs. Owen wished to put his communistic theories into practice, and, upon hearing of the desire of the Rappites in New Harmony, Indiana, in the United States, to sell out, he entered into negotiations with them with the result that he bought the "Harmonie" community for less than \$150,000, using part of his own fortune for this purpose. Here he planned to experiment with his "new moral world" where an industrial democracy was to be the keynote and the highest type of education was to be given to all at no cost other than to the community at large.

The existing community at New Harmony had a religious bond as a basis for its existence and was founded by George Rapp, a vine-dresser and farmer of plebian descent, but a man of unusual strength of character who, in 1803, had brought a group of Würtemburg peasants from Germany to Butler county, Pennsylvania, that they might worship in their own way, free from the religious domination present at that time in Germany. Here they had the "community of equality," with all work done in common, the funds and leadership being in the hands of George Rapp, who was also their religious leader. This has been spoken of as a religious autocracy. The location in Pennsylvania was deemed unfit after a time because of the distance from waterways where they might ship their products, hence the community moved en masse to the east bank of the Wabash river in Indiana about 20 miles north of its confluence with the Ohio river. This was in 1815. Here they proceeded to clear and till the very fertile land and built a new town calling it Harmonie. Nearly a thousand of the followers of George Rapp lived here and it was therefore the largest town in the territory of Indiana [?]. Thirty thousand acres of land were held in common. The farming equipment and other utensils were brought from Pennsylvania. Houses, both log and frame, were soon erected. Later brick houses were built, the frame and the brick houses being constructed on the same design, and of equal size, because the Rappites, as they were called, believed in the equality of every one. School houses were built, and a large church. There were no grave-stones or other markers in the Rappite graveyard, indicating that even in death there was no difference, and today the moundless surface of the Rappite cemetery in New Harmony

bears silent witness to this fact. The funerals took place with only the elders as witnesses and nothing was left on the spot to indicate the burial place of any one, though a plat was kept indicating the location of each grave.

The Rappites worked hard, and, the land being very fertile, they prospered, shipping the products of the community to points along the Mississippi river. They had comfortable homes and plenty in a land that was then almost a wilderness. George Rapp then decided to sell the property, giving as a reason the malarious condition of the country, the unpleasant weather and also the isolation and remoteness from the business centers of the United States. It is probable that Father Rapp, as he was called, felt that his hold over the people would lessen if the life in Harmonie became too easy because of plenty. The community had been built, the farms and industries were prosperous and the need of the intense hard work had decreased, hence he decided to move to a new location where the pioneer trials and hard work incident to a new location would again firmly place the Harmonists under his leadership and generalship. Hence Robert Owen was welcomed as a purchaser when he wished to buy Harmonie for the place of his community experiment. The Rappites then left in a body for a new site on the Ohio river just below Pittsburgh and where they located Economy, where they remained.

Robert Owen came to America bringing part of his family with him. He delivered addresses in February and March, 1825, in the hall of the house of representatives at Washington, D. C., before two of the most distinguished audiences ever gathered in Washington, which comprised the entire membership of both houses of congress, the judges of the supreme court, the President and his cabinet and many distinguished citizens. He explained his "new moral world," his plan for the improvement of the human race, and his immediate project at New Harmony, Indiana, and stated that he desired volunteers for the new community explaining that there was to be industrial equality and the best educational opportunities for all, especially the children. He spoke in many other places in the United States spreading his invitation broadcast. People of all kinds came to Harmonie to join his community. There were cranks and agitators and

reformers of every kind, some who thought it a place to live without working and others who came with a sincere and serious desire to be working members of the colony and carry out the plan of the leader. On April 27, 1825, Robert Owen addressed the membership of the new community at New Harmony, for such was the new name, in the big church hall and outlined his plan for the "new moral world" and the "Preliminary Society" was established. At this time he said:

I am come to this country to introduce an entirely new state of society; to change it from an ignorant, selfish system to an enlightened social system which shall gradually unite all interests in one, and remove all causes for contrast between individuals.

Such was the origin of the community. Farming and the dairy pursuits began; manufacturing and the trades started up with Owen acting as a business manager for the time being; this management later to be put in the hands of the communists. Owen had interested a William Maclure of Philadelphia in the community, who wished to put into practice his educational theories. Maclure was a wealthy scientist interested in education and political economy and was likewise philanthropic. He had been the principal founder of the Philadelphia Academy of natural sciences and had made several geological studies of large parts of the United States. He had tried out an educational scheme in Spain which had failed, hence he ardently entered into Owen's plans and took charge of the educational side of the experiment. His plan was to make New Harmony the center of education in the United States through the introduction of the Pestalozzian system of teaching. For this purpose he gathered at New Harmony the most distinguished group of scientists and educators in America, among these being Thomas Say, the zoologist, Charles Alexander Leseur, Constantine Samuel Raffinesque, Dr. Gerard Troost, John Chappelsmith, an artist and engraver, Professor Joseph Neef, Madame Marie Fretageot and Phiquepal d' Arusmont. Frances Wright, the enthusiastic advocate of "New Principles," woman's suffrage and abolition lived for some years in New Harmony. The four sons and one of Robert Owen's daughters also lived in New Harmony.

Then Robert Owen returned to England to proceed with his work there, and the community was left in the charge of his son Robert Dale Owen. There were, however, too many differing temperaments in the community and finally petty bickerings and jealousies on the part of some of the members became so great that the spirit of the place was lost, and the community gradually ceased to function as such and on March 28, 1827, the *New Harmony Gazette*, the official organ of the administration, in an editorial written by Robert Dale and William Owen, acknowledged the defeat of the experiment so far as New Harmony was concerned but still held that the principle was correct.

Robert Owen came to New Harmony at the time of the dissolution of the community, but immediately returned to England and for the rest of his life carried on propaganda for the principles of industrial equality, free education of the young, and decent and respectable living conditions for the workers in factory towns. He lectured all over Europe on socialism and his "new moral world," taking part in co-operative congresses for many years. He also published a weekly journal on these subjects. He became more radical as he grew older and his real influence then began to decline. In 1854 he was converted to spiritualism by a medium from America, and published several works on this subject.

Owen was essentially a man with one idea, that of better-men of the working man. The fact that he himself had been a successful factory operator and owner compelled many to consider him and his theories seriously. His factory had been wonderfully successful financially and the town of New Lanark had a happy and prosperous people. Here careful attention was given to Owen's theories because here they had worked. The practical success of New Lanark had enabled Owen to take a definite stand and had assisted him in his preachings for social and industrial and educational equality.

Personally he was most amiable—his ruling passion was benevolence; he was exceedingly fond of children, spent a fortune to promote the welfare of his race, had a command of temper which enabled him to conciliate opponents and was obstinate without being irritable.

Owen's geniality, altruism, love of mankind, sweetness of temper and gentle disposition and charm of manner were his outstanding temperamental traits. These different traits have appeared in his descendants, some here and some there. They will be noted as they appear in the description of the family which follows. The Owen charm and graciousness of manner is known to all who are acquainted with the family of today. He died in 1857.<sup>1</sup>

Such was Robert Owen, the genius, the most of whose life had been spent in England and Scotland, although he died in Wales. Robert Owen's children were reared in Scotland, educated in Europe, but spent the greater part of their lives in the United States and the fact that three of his sons became very prominent in the development of this country makes the Owen family one of interest to students of genealogy, biography, eugenics and heredity. These three sons were Robert Dale Owen, the statesman, David Dale Owen, the geologist, and Richard Dale Owen, the soldier and teacher of science. Hence the study of the Owen blood is of interest and value. Robert Owen has been called "socialist," "a reformer," "practical idealist," "philanthropist," etc. Robert Owen, as has been seen, was born in Wales; his father before him was Robert Owen, also born in Wales. The father was a saddler and ironmonger, a postmaster as long as he lived and general manager of the parish affairs. His wife was "one of the Williams, who were among the most respectable farmers of Newtown." "My mother," writes Robert, "was for her class, superior in mind and manner." Nothing else is known of the Owen side.

Robert Owen married Ann Caroline Dale, the daughter of David Dale, the cotton mill owner of Glasgow. She was a descendant from a long line of the peers of England and Scotland, her maternal great-great-grandfather, John Campbell,

<sup>1</sup> List of Robert Owen's most prominent writings: *New Views of Society, in Four Essays, on the Formation of Human Character*, London, 1813; *Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System*, London, 1815; *Two Memorials on Behalf of the Working Classes*, 1818; *The Debate on the Evidences of Christianity, the Social System, and Scepticism*, Bethany, 1829; *Book of the New Moral World*, London, 1836; *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race*, London, 1849; *The Life of Robert Owen, written by Himself*, London, 1857-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Threading My Way*, by Robert Dale Owen, G. W. Carlton and Co., New York, 1874.

being the first Earl of Breadalbane, and another maternal ancestor the first Marquis of Argyll. Many other ancestors of Ann Dale were prominent in the history of Scotland. The following is quoted from *Threading My Way*, by Robert Dale Owen:

David Dale, born Ayrshire, 1738, under humble circumstances; educated in public schools, journeyman weaver, even then expended a portion of his scanty wages in relieving his poorer neighbors. With the steady perseverance of his country he gradually won his way to riches and position; so that at middle age he was already a wealthy merchant and bank director. The marriage with Ann Campbell was a most harmonious union though brief. She died when her eldest child was about twelve years old; and upon that child devolved the care of a widowed father and younger sister; a charge the duties of which she fulfilled with a devotion and prudence beyond her years. David Dale had become a mill owner. He first paid attention to the health and morals of his people, trained them up in habits of industry and instructed them in the necessary branches of education. Four hundred children were entirely fed, clothed and instructed at the expense of Dale. He was very religious, being an "independent," an order of Presbyterians, this sect having as its tenet that a "laborer is worthy of his hire."

Dale was a man of abundant geniality; he was very tolerant and lacking in harshness toward offenders. Robert Owen in *Threading My Way*, says of his father-in-law:

Mr. Dale was one of the most liberal, conscientious, benevolent, kind-hearted men I ever met in my life; one universally respected for his simplicity and straightforward honesty of character. From my marriage, until his death he and I never exchanged one unpleasant expression or unkind word. Yet our religious opinions were quite different and we distinctly knew the difference. He had a sense of the ludicrous and keenly enjoyed a joke, even at his own expense. He died in 1806.

The daughter of Archibald Campbell, the first Marquis of Argyll, married John Campbell, the first Earl of Breadalbane, and so the ancestors of their child, the Hon. Colin Campbell of Ardmaddie, were Robert, James I, Joan Beaufort, the daughter of John of Gaunt, all the English Kings back of Edward III and all the French Kings back of Philip le bel. Miss Ellinor Davidson of San Francisco has worked out the genealogical tree of the Campbells and has it now in her possession.

This John Campbell, of Glenorchy, born 1635, and created first Earl of Breadalbane in 1681, was (according to Nisbet)<sup>3</sup> a man of sagacity, judgment and penetration. He served in Parliament for the shire of Argyll and was privy councillor under James II.

He has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent and slippery as an eel.

He died in 1716. He married Mary Campbell, daughter of Archibald, the first Marquis of Argyll, then widow of George, Earl of Caithness, and had one child, Colin.

The Honorable Colin Campbell, of Ardmaddie, fell desperately in love with a Miss Fisher, the handsome daughter of a respectable farmer living on his father's estates and married her according to the Scottish law, legally. His parents refused to recognize the bride, hence he left his native country and resided with her when off duty from the army, at a French seaport. He continued to live with his wife until his death at the early age of 29, in 1708. He left one child only, named after the grandfather who ignored its existence. At a later period the widow and her son brought suit to procure the acknowledgment of the marriage and the recovery of her husband's property. Although they received what was equivalent to \$300,000, the boy was never given his place in the peerage. This boy, John Campbell, did well in the world. He married Lady Sterling of Glorit and when she died without issue, contracted a second marriage with Miss Campbell of Tofts, by whom he had five children. One of these was General Colin Campbell, afterwards lieutenant governor of Gibraltar, and another was the Ann Caroline Campbell who married David Dale. Ann was noted through Scotland as one of the most beautiful women of her day.

This brief picture of part of the ancestry of Ann Caroline Dale who married Robert Owen shows something of the traits present in the Campbell germ plasm. That germ plasm has produced some of the prominent figures in Scotland. In David Dale was the business ability, philanthropic sense and geniality and poise as mentioned above. There were three daughters born to David and Ann; Ann Caroline, married Robert

<sup>3</sup> Nesbit, Alexander, 1657-1725, heraldic writer of Edinburgh.

came to America and little is known on this side of the Atlantic concerning their traits.

The traits of benevolence and altruism and geniality and marked business ability are found on both sides of this Owen-Campbell house and the study of the Owen family really begins at this point. Robert Owen and Ann Dale had eight children, the first one dying in infancy, five came to the United States and lived, while the two remaining, Anne Caroline and Margaret, lived all their lives in Scotland and never married. Nothing is known of the traits of these two. The five who came to the United States were Robert Dale, William, Jane Dale, David Dale and Richard. These will be taken up in order.

#### ROBERT DALE OWEN AND HIS DESCENDANTS

Robert Dale Owen was born in Glasgow, Scotland, November 7, 1801. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl, Switzerland, where he became an enthusiastic believer in the Pestalozzian creed and methods of education. When he returned to Scotland he entered with hearty and intelligent sympathy into his father's social and educational experiment at New Lanark. Robert Dale came to the United States with his father at the beginning of the New Harmony experiment in 1825. Although he made several visits to Europe later, the United States remained his home through the rest of his life. Robert Dale, then 24 years old, was left in charge of the New Harmony experiment when his father returned to Europe after organizing the community. He represented his father in this work and showed much ability in the management of affairs and the promulgation of his theories. He and Frances Wright<sup>4</sup> furnished many articles for

<sup>4</sup> Frances Wright, or Frances D'Arusmont, philanthropist and agitator, born at Dundee, 6 Sept., 1795, was an orphan at the age of two and a half years. Her father, apparently possessed of independent means, was a man of considerable accomplishments and strong liberal feeling. Frances and her younger sister were brought up by a maternal aunt. She studied in the library of the University of Glasgow and at the age of twenty-three sailed to America where she spent two years. Her letters home were collected and published in 1821, under the title of *Views of Society and Manners in America*. While in America she produced a tragedy, *Altorf*, which was acted in New York on 19 Feb., 1819, and published in Philadelphia. From 1821 to 1824 Frances Wright lived in Paris

the New Harmony *Gazette*, a weekly paper, the official organ of the community, concerning the progress of the project, its ideals and its philosophy and also many general information articles on science and other subjects for the education of the members of the community.

After the collapse of the community in 1827, he continued to make New Harmony his home as did many other of the teachers and leaders of that movement. On April 12, 1832, he married Mary J. Robinson in New York City with a contract marriage entered into before a justice of the peace in that city. Owen continued to write and he and Frances Wright edited the *Free Enquirer* which was published in New York and was the continuation of the New Harmony *Gazette*, after the community had ceased to exist. This paper continued as a liberal newspaper and, among other things, advocated the entrance of the workingman into politics. In 1836, Owen entered Indiana politics as a member of the state legislature. At that time, as later when he was lecturing about the country and when he entered into a written debate with Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* advocating greater freedom in divorce, his speeches were models of logic and free from abuse.<sup>5</sup> In 1842 he was elected to the house of representatives at Washington, returned in 1844 but defeated in 1846. While a member of congress he originated and carried through to final passage a bill providing for the application of the neglected Smithson bequest to the institution and was a member of the first board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution. It is said that Robert and his brother, David Dale Owen, then United States geologist, planned the architecture of the institution buildings in Washington.

where she enjoyed the friendship of Lafayette and many of the French liberal leaders. In 1824 she returned to the United States and took up her residence at New Harmony. She purchased a tract of land at Nashoba, Tennessee, near Memphis, and settled negro slaves on it with the hope that they would work out their liberty. This experiment, sponsored by the New Harmony people, failed. In 1829 she delivered a course of lectures in the chief cities of the United States, pointing out the degree in which the United States, notwithstanding their free constitution, had hitherto disappointed the hopes of advanced reformers, and excited great opposition by the freedom of her attacks on religion. From 1833 to 1836 she delivered numerous courses of lectures on social questions, especially slavery and female suffrage, of which latter she was one of the first advocates. She married in 1838, M. Philquepal D'Arusmont, which later resulted in a separation. She died at Cincinnati, Ohio, December 2, 1852.

<sup>5</sup> See Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, New York, 1868.

It was as a member of the Indiana constitutional convention in 1850 that he entered upon the period of his greatest usefulness. John H. Holliday, the Indiana historian, says that Robert Dale Owen was the most laborious and efficient member of that body, and that the law reforms, the provisions for women's rights, and especially the free schools, were his work. Here he embodied into actual practice and basic law the teachings and theories which his father and William Maclure had worked out practically in New Harmony thirty years previously. The constitution of 1850 and the school law of 1852 of Indiana are the handiworks of Robert Owen and William Maclure living after them [??].

In 1853 Owen was appointed *chargé d'affaires* at Naples for the United States and he remained at this post for six years. During this period he became an advocate of spiritualism and wrote two books on the subject. His father had become a devotee of spiritualism in England a few years previous to this. During the Civil war Robert Dale Owen gave his time and energy to the support of the Union and of Lincoln, and especially the latter's plans for the emancipation of the slaves. In September, 1862, when the decision about emancipation of the slaves hung in the balance, he wrote to Lincoln approving the step and this letter has been described as "an ever enduring monument of dispassionate, well-reasoned, perfectly-poised deductions, at a very critical time in the life of a great nation." "Its perusal thrilled me like a trumpet call," said Lincoln. Owen was appointed secretary of the Freedman's Bureau near the close of the war and acted as its executive for a time. He opposed then the giving of the franchise to the negroes for a time until they had been trained to accept the duties of citizenship.

For a period before his death "his mind was deranged by overwork—deranged but not obscured—for during several months' residence in the hospital for the insane at Indianapolis his mental powers were incessantly active and brilliant though touched by grotesque shapes." He regained his mental soundness but did not live long after that, dying at the age of 76.

John H. Holliday<sup>6</sup> says of him:

In scholarship, general attainments, as author, statesman, politician, as leader of a new religious faith, he was unquestionably the most prominent man Indiana ever owned.

Robert D. Owen was very kind and gentle in disposition and very "sweet and patient" in all his activities. He had all the gentle traits of the father but a clearer sense of the proportion of things and the relations of people to each other and the methods of dealing with people in matters of policy and politics. He had little money sense and could not hold property. His father had given him the disposal of his share of the New Harmony property at its breaking up and in consequence Robert was never obliged to be bothered with the necessary details of earning a living which would have been a bore to him. He is remembered by all especially for his kindness of manner and sweet disposition.

When writing<sup>7</sup> and studying he was a hard worker and absorbed completely in his work, with all his mind and body concentrated on the one thing; if disturbed, most polite for a time but still absorbed. This characteristic of absorption in work was characteristic of all four sons of Robert Owen. Robert Dale Owen was never irritable or irascible and showed no excesses of any kind. He was very domestic in his home. He stands out as the statesman of the family.

Robert Dale Owen's wife, Mary Jane Robinson, was born in 1813 in Virginia. One brother of hers, Henry, of Virginia, lacked certain inhibitions. Her niece, Miss Ella Dietz, was prominent in New York City women's clubs and was one of the first members of the Sorosis club of New York. Mary was a "fine, strong, gentle, just, motherly woman," who acted as

<sup>6</sup> *An Indiana Village, New Harmony*, by John H. Holliday.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Dale Owen's most prominent writings were: *Outlines of the System of Education at New Lanark*, Glasgow, 1824; *Moral Physiology*, New York, 1831. (This is a treatise on birth control, AHE) *Popular Tracts*, 1831; *Discussion with Origin Bachelor on the Personality of God and the Authority of the Bible*, 1832; *Pocahontas*, a drama, 1837; *Hints on Public Architecture*, 1849; *A Treatise on the Construction of Plank Roads*, 1856; *Footprints on the Boundary of Another World*, 1860; *Beyond the Breakers*, 1870; *Debatable Land Between This World and the Next*, 1872; *Threading My Way*, 1874; *The Wrong of Slavery, the Right of Emancipation and the Future of the African Race in the United States*, 1864; *Divorce*—being a correspondence between Horace Greeley and Robert Dale Owen, in the *New York Daily Tribune*, 1860.

a fine balance wheel for her husband. Robert Dale Owen took her to New York City just after marriage to finish her education. She became a great grammarian but had no artistic or temperamental traits. For some time, when about fifty years old, she operated a school for twelve girls, all about the age of ten years, in her home, now the Fauntleroy home in New Harmony. All the teaching was oral, no books of any sort being used. She died August 12, 1871.

Robert and Mary had six children, two dying in infancy. On the grave of one, Florence Dale Owen, who died in July, 1834, aged about eight months, in the cemetery at New Harmony is the following, written probably by Robert Dale Owen :

Ephemera all die at sunset; and no insect of this class ever sported in the rays of the rising sun. Happier are ye, little Human ephemera! Ye play only in the ascending beams and in the early dawn; and in the eastern life ye drink only the first sweet draughts of life; hover for a little space over a world of freshness and blossoms; and then fall asleep in innocence ere ever the morning dews are exhaled.

This shows the religious feeling and attitude of the Owens of that period. In the early days the Owens were not spiritual. It has been said quite aptly that the Owens practiced the Christian virtues without profession. In the last half century most of the Owens have become members of the church.

The children of Robert Dale Owen who reached maturity are Florence, Julian Dale, Ernest, and Rosamond, the latter being the only one of these now alive. Florence, born 1836, New Harmony, was taken to Europe with her brothers and sister and well educated. She was very musical and took special training in that line. Soon after returning to New Harmony she married James Cooper, a physician, now aged ninety and living in Terre Haute, Indiana, a capable man who has acquired some property. Florence was a "typical Owen with a sweet, lovely disposition" and was considered a beautiful woman. She died quite young on March 1, 1863, leaving one child, Robert Dale Cooper. He was born in 1857 and went to school until he reached the sixth grade and soon after that was placed to work on a farm. He now owns a farm near New Harmony which he is working and secures very fair returns for his industry. He married when about the age of

forty-five, Martha Shepherd, from near New Harmony, and has two children, Florence and Robert, one born 1914, the other 1915. These two are bright and active mentally.

Julian D. Owen, son of Robert Dale Owen, was born in 1837. He, too, was educated abroad but returned to New Harmony and lived there the remainder of his life. He was a farmer and has been considered the best business man of this generation of the Owens. He also acted as guardian, settled estates, and did other business for many people about New Harmony and was very successful. He was very fond of people and enjoyed mingling with them, and, although very popular, he was not interested in social activities as such. During the Civil war he rose to the rank of Colonel. His interest in people and desire to do for others was a typical Owen trait but the other traits of the Owens were not so characteristic in this man. His first wife, Mary Sampson, was killed in a steam-boat accident on the Mississippi river during the Civil war. His second was Helen M. Shepard. She was reputed to have been the adopted daughter of a poor widow of New Harmony. She was very beautiful physically. She bore two children, Grace and Margaret, to Julian, and died at the age of twenty-seven. Nothing is known of her traits. Julian's third wife was Annie Reed Cooper, by whom he has one child, Walter Dale. Julian survived his last wife, dying in 1910 of paralysis.

Grace Owen, Julian's oldest child and granddaughter of Robert Dale Owen, was born in New Harmony in 1866. She was large physically, handsome, brilliant, gifted musically, intellectually and socially. She travelled quite extensively and spent some time at Haifa in the Holy Land with her aunt Rosamond. She married at about the age of twenty-four and died in 1891, at the birth of her first child. Grace Owen is spoken of as the most brilliant of that generation and one resembling the earlier Owens. Her husband, Charles W. Zering, was a school teacher, later studied law and was very successful in later life. He was very intellectual. Their one child, Grace Zering, born 1891, was tossed here and there as a child after the death of her mother, staying part of the time with her aunt Margaret, the actress. She has travelled much. She has good descriptive powers and some literary ability in writing.

She has the brilliancy of the mother. She married Lieut. Com. Ellis Stone of the United States Navy, and has one child, Ellynor, born 1919. They reside at Long Beach, California.

Margaret Owen, born 1870, full sister of Grace and granddaughter of Robert Dale Owen, was, as a young girl, like the earlier Owens, gentle and kind, and still has the calm, equable disposition so characteristic of the family. She, however, does not have the musical ability so often found. She married William C. Clark, an actor, went on the stage with him in vaudeville and has travelled all over the world. She now resides in California.

Walter Dale Owen, son of Julian and grandson of Robert Dale Owen, and half-brother of Grace and Margaret, born 1877, graduated at Harvard College and is now in the automobile business in Boston. He has been married twice but has no children.

Ernest Dale Owen, the third child of Robert Dale Owen, to grow up, born in 1838 in New Harmony, was also trained abroad with the other children and received a cultural education. He became an excellent violinist. He was trained in the law and later moved to Chicago where he practiced for many years. Ernest did not have the altruistic sense of the Owens. When about seventy-five years old, while in a state of mental depression, he committed suicide, this about 1914. His wife was Frances Mann, born 1855, one of three sisters who married into the Owen family. She had no offspring and is now living with her sister in New Harmony.

Rosamond Dale Owen Oliphant Templeton was the last child in this fraternity. She was born in 1843 and went with the other children of Robert to Europe for her education, remaining in England and has lived most of her life there. She has travelled quite extensively, especially in the Holy Land. She married first Sir Laurence Oliphant, who died of fever soon after in Serbia. Her second husband was James Murray Templeton, Sir Oliphant's secretary, who mysteriously disappeared from a ship in mid-ocean while returning from the Holy Land to England. It is supposed that while delirious from the effects of a tropical fever he jumped overboard. Rosa is spoken of as a "gentle woman who reverts to the Owen

type." She has a quiet manner and fascinating personality and although frail physically, she is alert mentally and full of cheerfulness and humor. She has a broad streak of sentimentality and is emotionally very active. She was at one time an Episcopalian, later a Theosophist and has recently been interested in other cults, and now considers herself a spiritualist. She has written several books, one on woman suffrage, and one called the *Mediators*, developing in this the theory of a new cult. During the World war she turned her house over for the care of wounded soldiers and spent so much money for the care of these disabled men that she rendered herself almost penniless. She has used most of her fortune in benevolence of this and other kinds. She now lives in Worthing, Sussex, England.

This ends the description of Robert Dale Owen and his descendants. Robert, himself, was a near genius, if not possessing genius abilities. Rosamond is the only other one who has stood out as a prominent figure though it is interesting what would have been the future of Grace Zering had she lived. The Owen charm of manner and graciousness is found in many of these as elsewhere in the family.

#### WILLIAM OWEN AND HIS DESCENDANTS

William Owen was the second child of Robert Owen who came to America. He was born in Scotland in 1802. His education to the age of fifteen was conducted by private tutors: after that he went with his older brother, Robert, to the college of M. de Fellenberg at Hofwyl in Switzerland. Here he remained three years, returning to England imbued with the idea that rich and poor were fundamentally alike and that manliness and an upright character were the ideals to be sought by every one. For the next few years he worked with his father and became skilled in the manufacture and handling of cotton goods. At the age of twenty-two he came with his father to the United States and went about the country with him on his first lecture trip and then accompanied him to New Harmony for the beginning of the experiment there. Here he remained the rest of his life except for short business trips.

He had the business mind of his fraternity and the brothers referred all such details to him and looked to him for advice in all practical affairs. He had the gentleness and sweetness of disposition of the Owens but seems to have been a negative character in contrast to his brothers. He died at the age of forty in 1842, cause unknown; his tombstone in the New Harmony cemetery has the following inscription only, "A native of Scotland." He married Mary Bolton, recalled by tradition at New Harmony as a witty, bright, sparkling young woman, born in 1819 and who died in 1837 soon after the birth of her first child. Her father, Samuel Bolton, went from England to New Harmony as one of the students of Maclure and his group of scientists and gave much time to study there. He also operated a mill at New Harmony.

The one child of William and Mary Bolton, Mary Francis, was born in 1837 in New Harmony. She spent her childhood there and later went to Italy where she studied music, especially voice culture. She sang very well. She returned to this country after a time. She had the placid temper of the Owens and the good nature of her father and no combativeness. She was not interested in the domestic matters of the household, neither did she have any interest in public affairs. As a young woman she was considered a beauty. Later in life she became very deaf. She married twice; her first husband was Henry F. Fitton, by whom she had six children. He died in 1873 and she then married Joel W. Hiatt, with whom she lived until her death a few years ago. Her first husband, Fitton, was born in 1837, in England, had little education and that at home in England. He served in the United States army during the Civil war and when discharged had the rank of captain. He entered business, was shrewd and did well financially. He had no particular outstanding traits or character. He had a good tenor voice which, however, had never been trained. The children of Mary Francis Owen and Henry Fitton are: Frank, William, who died young, Mary, Catharine, Herbert, and Florence. Joel Hiatt, Mary's second husband, is still living.

Frank Fitton, son of Mary and grandson of William Owen, born about 1860, had a good education. He has been interested in several business activities and is at present engaged

as a grain broker and in charge of farm lands in Posey county, formerly a part of the Ribeyre properties. He and his wife, Emily Ribeyre, now live in Indianapolis, Indiana. The wife is of French descent, her father having been a Frenchman who came to Posey county, Indiana, and acquired large tracts of fine farm land where he cultivated corn extensively. His son, Alfred Ribeyre, is now known as the "Corn King of Posey County" because of his large holdings of land. Frank and Emily have two children, Harry and Hortense. The former is the head of a large contracting firm, is married with two small children, and lives in Indianapolis, while the other, gifted intellectually, is married and now lives in Columbus, Ohio.

The next child of Henry and Mary Francis was Mary, born 1864, an amiable, sweet tempered, cultivated woman who developed tuberculosis and later went west to Boulder, Colorado, with her family in search of health. Her husband, Herbert Harris, of Albion, Illinois, was always in poor health, but continued with his business and also carried the duties and details of the home. Mary died in 1911 at the age of thirty-seven, leaving two children, Robert, now aged twenty-five, who remained in Colorado, because of his poor health, and Frances, now twenty-three, who is studying and working in interior house decoration in New York City. The latter is strong physically.

Catharine Fitton, the next child of Mary Francis, was one of the New Harmony beauties and is still considered a handsome woman. She received her education in New Harmony, is active mentally and ambitious. She has social gifts and tact. Her husband is Malcolm Owen, her cousin, described later, a courteous, kind, educated man. They have two children, Catharine and Mary. Catharine, the elder, born 1896, is interested intellectually in everything, and has abundant energy which is well directed. She is now married to Major James H. Genung, of the United States army. Mary, born 1901, has attended Chicago university and is mentally and physically active with many social graces. Catharine Fitton's family live in Chicago, Illinois.

Herbert Fitton, brother of Catharine, born 1870, is cashier of a bank at Mt. Vernon, Indiana. His wife, Catharine Freta-

geot, is an active, energetic woman from a good family of New Harmony and this couple have one daughter, Mary Louise, born 1903, now a student at Indiana University. Florence Fittion, born about 1872, the last in this fraternity, married Elmer Clark, a newspaper man of Little Rock, Arkansas, and has one child, Hortense, aged fifteen. None of the descendants of William Owen have had any public activities nor the altruism of Robert Owen.

#### JANE OWEN AND HER DESCENDANTS

Jane Dale Owen, daughter of Robert, was born in Scotland in 1805 and came to New Harmony soon after the beginning of the New Harmony experiment. She was a fine musician and played the piano well. She was quiet in manner and very much attached to her children. After marriage she travelled in Europe for a time returning to New Harmony where she spent the rest of her life. There she conducted a school for children in her own home. This was an "oral" school similar to the one her sister-in-law Mary had taught. Her husband was Robert Henry Fauntleroy, born 1806 in Virginia. His father was Joseph Fauntleroy of Virginia and he, with a Mr. Taylor, had bought the store and merchandising rights from the Owens during community times. Robert, then aged twenty, kept the meteorological records for New Harmony during community days and for a time after that collaborated in these reports with the United States government bureau at Washington. His profession was that of a geologist though he was a mathematician and an astronomer also. He was an inventor of several things including a special kind of organ. He was musical, playing the flute and violin and other instruments well. He was called the Chesterfield of New Harmony because of his distinguished appearance and bearing, though he really was very gentle in his manners. Robert carried on the Southern Coast survey for the United States government and was chief of the Geodetic service and in this work travelled extensively through the south and west parts of the United States. He died in 1849, comparatively young, and was buried in New Harmony. Rapite House No. 52 was his home in New Harmony, as it was

also the home of Robert Dale Owen and Thomas Say, the Zoolologist, at other times, and was also the birthplace of the first Woman's club in America, the Minerva club. This house is now called the Fauntleroy Home.

Jane survived Robert by twelve years, dying in 1861. They had six children, two dying in infancy and the others, Constance, Ellinor, Edward and Arthur, reaching maturity. The oldest, Constance Fauntleroy, born 1836, is the one individual in this generation of Owens who approached nearest to the genius type. She received her early training at home in New Harmony. At the age of five she was a creditable performer on the piano. She also developed a remarkable ability for story writing and when very young wrote her first poem. During her subsequent attendance at the school in New Harmony she busied herself in writing stories, poems and songs. Upon the death of her father the family went to Stuttgart, Germany, where Constance, then sixteen, devoted herself to the study of music, the languages, drawing and painting, her tutor on the piano-forte being Boherez, a pupil of Moscheles. At the age of twenty-two, she returned to New Harmony where, in 1858, she organized the first woman's club in America. This society was known as the Minerva club. This club had a full set of duly elected officers and carried on its business under regular parliamentary rules. She had become a religious convert while in Germany and after returning to the United States became a zealous worker in that field. In 1861, she married Dr. James Runcie and soon moved from New Harmony to Madison, Indiana, where Dr. Runcie was rector of the Episcopal church and there Constance founded a Bronté club, literary in nature. A few years later they moved to St. Joseph, Missouri, which was her home the rest of her life. Here Dr. Runcie held the pastorate of Christ church as long as he lived.

In St. Joseph, she, in conjunction with her husband, established the Christ church league for the purpose of stimulating interest in art and literature. She organized the Runcie club in St. Joseph and for many years was the intellectual light of that city. *Divinely Led* is the story of her conversion to religion and appeared in 1873. In 1888, her verse was collected in a volume entitled *Poems, Dramatic and Lyric* while

*A Burning Question* was another story published in 1891. Her musical career extends over many years. Her daughter says the following of her mother:

Music was the natural expression of her rhythmic and poetic soul. Her music is essentially melodic and graceful; it is not bromidic, it is distinctive, it never palls on the ear, and much of it has a passion of feeling, notably the religious pieces. Half of her forty pieces are sacred, the others show immense versatility. She wrote one operetta, *The Prince of Asturia*, full of drollery and laughing humor, which is still in manuscript.

Constance had a scientific mind and a keen understanding of scientific problems. She read many scientific works and when it is remembered that her father and two maternal uncles were eminent scientists, it is not strange that she had this interest so deeply ingrained in her. She called Science the "Handmaid of Religion," and did not see any clash between the two. She liked to feel always that she was teaching and giving out information. She has written some poetry; the opening ode for the Chicago Exposition, and the book of poems as mentioned above. She was a beautiful reader of prose and poetry and enjoyed doing it. She was deeply religious and assisted her husband greatly in his parish work. She played the piano by ear imperfectly but with a sympathetic touch, her daughter states.

Constance had a strong family feeling and was somewhat domestic in her ways. She had a keen sense of duty to her family, her friends, all the world and especially the church, and was so dominated by that sense as to make her sometimes appear selfish and egotistical. She did not have the gentle, altruistic nature so characteristic of the Owens, as strongly as did her sister Ellinor. Constance died in 1911, outliving her husband and leaving four children.

Her husband, James Runcie, was born near Dundalk, Ireland, in 1824. He received a medical training at the University of Dublin, later coming to this country, where he studied for the Episcopal ministry under Bishop Upfold of Indiana. He served parishes at New Harmony, Madison, Indiana, and St. Joseph, Missouri, he being at this latter place at the time of his death. He was not a High Churchman, his sermons

were written and simple. "He was first of all a pastor and children loved him and his parishioners were very reverential toward him." He was studious but not literary, unselfish and benevolent. Just previous to his death he declined the election to the Bishopric. He died in 1889 of hernia. He and Constance had four children, Blessing, Ellinor, Roy and Percy, all living now in St. Joseph, Missouri. Constance Blessing, the oldest, born in 1863 in New Harmony, was educated in private schools. At the age of twenty-six she was married to Elliott Marshall in St. Joseph and has lived there since then. She had the quiet charm and simple honesty of the Owens. She is a woman of high principles, makes friends easily, and likes society. She is considered by all a fine character, unselfish, interested in others and of fine sensibilities. Her husband, Elliott Marshall, born in 1851 in New York, comes of Stuyvesant and other old New York City blood. He is a graduate of Columbia university and went to Missouri where he entered the real estate and insurance business. He is now mayor of St. Joseph. He is a large-hearted, fine type of a man with many friends and has done well in his business. He and Blessing Runcie have two children, Jean, born 1893, is a young society matron of Cleveland, Ohio, attractive, intelligent and capable. She married John Henry Savage, Jr., of Cleveland; he died in 1919 leaving her with one child, Constance, born 1917. Her brother, Elliott, Jr., born 1896, in St. Joseph, Mo., attended the University of Missouri, but did not graduate due to ill health. He is now associated with his father in the insurance business.

Fauntleroy Runcie, born 1864, is the second child in the Runcie family. He has the child-like simplicity and faith of the early Owens in the goodness of the world. He has a fine tenor voice and has sung for many years in the Christ church choir in St. Joseph, Mo., where he resides. His sister, Ellinor, born 1871, was educated in private schools and has taken special work in universities of England, California, and other places, studying mainly in the field of literary criticism. She is now a teacher in Miss Barstow's school in Kansas City, Mo., and here her ideal is to exert an ethical influence on girls in the spiritual and moral life through the teachings of history. She is very literary and musical, playing the piano, has com-

posed a little, nothing of which, however, has been published. She has the Owenite kindly sympathy and is an estimable character. She resides in St. Joseph, Missouri. Percy, the last child of James Runcie and Constance, born 1874, attended private schools, and since reaching adult age, has been a book-worm, having an encyclopedic type mind for minutiae. He is a recluse and lives at home with his sister.

Returning to the main line again, we next take up Ellinor Fauntleroy, daughter of Jane and Robert, born 1837. She travelled with her mother in Europe when young and again later in life visited Europe. She had many of the Owen traits—quiet in manner and temper, a woman of judgment and thought. She has been considered the one in this fraternity who most nearly approximated Robert Owen in his love of mankind. She always imagined herself an invalid physically and so was quite inactive. She married George Davidson and had three children by him. She died in 1908 in California. George Davidson, the husband, was born in Nottingham, England, May 9, 1825, and came to this country when he was seven years of age. His early schooling was in Philadelphia. His first scientific work was in the geodetic field and astronomical surveys in the eastern part of the United States for the government geodetic service. Later he was sent to the Pacific coast, this in 1850, and there he had charge of the coast surveys of California, Oregon, Washington and Alaska. He retired from the coast and geodetic survey work after fifty years service. In 1870 he had been appointed honorary professor of geodesy and astronomy and later was professor of geography at the University of California and kept this latter chair until his death. He was a member of many learned bodies including the National Academy of Science. This man, of Scotch ancestry, was witty and a brilliant conversationalist, but a man of contrasts, grouchy at times; very pleasant at others. He had the same lack of self-consciousness so marked in Robert Owen. Through his work in the geological service of the United States, he became intimate with David Dale and his brother Richard, the United States geologists, and married their niece, Ellinor Fauntleroy. Their children are three in number, George, Tom and Ellinor. George, born 1865, entered Harvard college, where he had a

brilliant scholastic record, but when he left college was a physical wreck. He and his brother Tom had marked mechanical ability, a trait of the Fauntleroy blood, and after graduation built a yacht between them, and did other things of the same sort. His eyes had become weak through too much study and George later went on a ranch in the far west as an overseer. At the age of fifty he committed suicide, a result of his continued ill health. He was gifted in intellectual qualities, an Owenite in many particulars, but more dominant in character than his sister Ellinor. He refused to marry a woman whom he loved because of his ill health and desired not to produce children who might be weak. Tom, his brother, born about 1868, was also a fine student at Harvard college and was mechanically inclined. He is now employed in a law office, is unmarried, and lives with his sister in San Francisco, California. The sister, Ellinor Davidson, born 1878, had a high school education in California and associated with the cultivated and highly trained associates of and visitors to her father's home, he being one of the intellectual lights of the west at that time. She has never married and has travelled but little. She is a fine conversationalist, a woman of high ideals and very philanthropic in nature and ideals, aided in this through the property left to her by her father. She has much of the altruism of the early Owens.

The other two children of Jane and Robert Fauntleroy never married. Edward Henry, born 1841, was educated abroad with the rest of the Fauntleroy children. At nineteen he had returned to the United States and was assisting his father on the western coast survey when he became ill, died suddenly, and was buried in New Harmony. His brother Arthur Robert, born 1843, became a civil engineer. He was always successful in his profession, was a good business man, and acquired property and holdings. He had a droll humor, good disposition, was generous, and liked by everyone. He never married and died at the age of forty-one of pneumonia, being in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the time.

The Fauntleroy descendants have shown a brilliant intellectual development, some music and other production, but the strain at the present time is dying out, only one of this

group, Jean Savage, having young offspring. The Owen-Fauntleroy strain then is practically gone.

#### DAVID DALE OWEN AND HIS DESCENDANTS

David Dale Owen was the next younger child of Robert Owen after Jane. He was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, in 1807, and received his early education in Scotland and later was a student with Richard at Fellenberg's School at Hofwyl, in Switzerland, where his two older brothers had been trained. He came to the United States soon after the beginning of the New Harmony experiment in January, 1828, being then about twenty years old. He probably never took any prominent part in the organization or activities of the community other than as one of its members. After the breaking up he went to Europe to pursue his studies in geology and natural science later returning to the United States in 1833. He then attended the Ohio Medical college where he took a medical degree in 1835. In 1837, he was commissioned by the state legislature to make a preliminary geological survey of Indiana, and in June, 1839, was appointed geologist of the United States. His first big undertaking for the government was a minute examination of the lands of Iowa and Missouri for general and mineral resources. In this work he trained his own assistants. This was the very first geological investigation of that type conducted under authority of the national government. This report was published in 1844. The headquarters of the United States geological survey were then at New Harmony and remained there until 1856 when they were removed to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, just finished at that time.

In 1849 David Owen started a survey of Minnesota territory which lasted three years. The report contained among other things numerous plates, all drawn by Owen, some of them being of the gigantic mammal remains of Nebraska. From 1854 to 1857 David Dale Owen was state geologist of Arkansas and in his work there was assisted by his pupil, Prof. E. E. Cox. In Arkansas, his health was affected by the exposure to the wet country, then full of fevers, and his death,

four years later, was hastened by this work. In 1859 he was appointed state geologist of Indiana. He died in 1860, shortly after taking up his last work. His collection, which was a remarkably complete one, was purchased by the state of Indiana some years ago and is now in the State University of Bloomington. David was succeeded in Indiana by his brother Richard. The development of geological research in this country is thus seen to have been closely associated with New Harmony and the Owen family.

David was a mild-tempered, quiet acting man who lived much within himself. He was not as aggressive as his brothers. He was always studious and was imbued with a strong scientific, searching mind. He was of slight build and ascetic appearance. His death at the age of fifty-three, was caused by stomach trouble. His published works are found in the official reports of the Government and in different state departments of geology.

David's wife was Caroline Neef, daughter of Joseph Neef, the Alsatian teacher brought to New Harmony by William Maclure for his school. Born in Neef's family, she had a good education and a fine cultural and intellectual environment. She was a good housekeeper and a fine mother to her children. She was born in 1815 in France and died comparatively young in 1854 at New Harmony.

Francis Joseph Nicholas Neef, was educated for a priest and spoke six languages. He revolted from the priesthood, as he grew older, and was a soldier for a time, fighting under Napoleon for ten years. He was shot in the face near the nose, the bullet remaining in the head. He turned his attention to education after this injury which prevented his further army service. He joined himself to Pestalozzi in Switzerland and when Pestalozzi opened his branch school in Paris he sent Neef to be its head. Here Maclure became acquainted with Neef. During this time Neef had married a Louise —, the daughter of a stern, hard-hearted man, and had one child Victor, born in Paris. Maclure brought Neef and his family to America starting a school near Philadelphia, where the Pestalozzian system of education was used. Here Admiral Farragut was one of the pupils. Here Neef had several children born, Louisa, Wilhelmina, Zulina, who died young, Caro-

line and Anne Eliza. They lived on the banks of the Schuylkill, where the school was situated then later moved to Kentucky where Neef had a farm. He next went to Port Fulton, near Louisville. At this time Louise, the wife, bought a piano, the first piano in Louisville and a great curiosity. She had taught her husband to sing. From Port Fulton, the family at Owen's and Maclure's request, moved to New Harmony.

The whole family then moved to Cincinnati, where the father taught French. Victor left home, worked in a lumber camp, caught the fever, came home and died. They later returned to New Harmony where the family remained. In later years Joseph became nearly blind. His portrait was then painted by D. D. Owen; it now hangs in Mrs. Snedeker's library at Hempstead.

David and Caroline's children are four in number: Alfred D., William H., Nina and Anna. Alfred, the oldest, was born in 1841 in New Harmony, and at the age of fourteen went to Europe with the Fauntleroy children to study. He remained away two years and during this time visited England, Germany, and other parts of Europe. The Civil war started soon after his return to the United States and he was one of the first to enlist. He was once made prisoner but was later exchanged. He was sent home sick but recuperated and returned to fight to the end. He rose to the rank of Colonel in the service. It is said that "his affection, merriment, ardor for the cause and tenderness of heart made him peculiarly loved by all who came in contact with him during the service." Soon after returning from war he married Anna Belle Caldwell of New Harmony. She was born in 1849 and died in 1906. Alfred was a banker in company with Charles Parke, his brother-in-law, but his goodness of heart in lending money to anyone who needed it irrespective of a man's ability to repay, was too much for him financially. As an older man he was broken but not dependent. He had the Owen kindly disposition and good temper but not the social mind characteristic of his uncle Robert. He died of blood poisoning at the age of sixty-two, having lived in Mt. Vernon, Indiana, practically all his life. He had little musical ability, his wife and children none. He had five children: David, Jessie, who married William Haas, Alfred, Helen who married John Bald-

win, and William. These children are now grown up and scattered in Oklahoma and Texas.

William H. Owen, born 1847, was the second child of David Owen. He received his education in Indiana and became a banker at New Harmony. He was considered a good business man and held in very high esteem there. He was the only scientist of his generation, his chief interest being in astronomy, which he studied for many years. He had the even Owen temperament and led a quiet, clean life, was very economical in his habits, and died in New Harmony in 1896.

Nina Dale Owen was the third child of David and Caroline Neef. She showed none of the high intellectuality of the Owens; her childlike sympathy was her chief characteristic. She was genial, witty and appreciative of humor, as were most of the Owens, and possessed the family charm of manner and graciousness. She was educated in music and was very talented in that line as were all her children; both she and they played and sang well. She wrote some music but has never published any. She and the family moved from Mt. Vernon, Indiana, their home, to Cincinnati that the children might have an opportunity to procure the best musical education. She was born in 1849 and died in 1911 of arterio-schlerosis. Her husband, Charles Parke, born 1845, was a banker in Mt. Vernon for many years and successful in his business. He had a calm but firm disposition, was self-sacrificing for his family, but selfish with respect to the outer world. He was apparently not musical, but after association with his wife in her musical sphere became very appreciative of good music. Book-collecting became his hobby. For many years he lived at Mt. Vernon, where his banking business was located, while his family were in Cincinnati for their musical training, travelling between the two places at regular intervals. He died in 1902 leaving five children: Caroline, Ada, Julius, Anna and Nina. All of these children have possessed remarkable musical traits and these are noted specifically later.

Caroline Dale Parke, born 1871 in Mt. Vernon, Indiana, is a true "Owenite," a charming, cultivated woman with a beautiful character. The customs of today horrify her. She is distinctly of the Mid-Victorian age and has a desire to accomplish but is impractical. Her outstanding characteristics

are her simplicity and lack of self-consciousness, and her enjoyment of humor in others. She is a lover of the Greek though not a student of the old Greek language and her book *The Coward of Thermopylae* is a fine exposition of her ideas of the culture of the Greeks. She is now writing another story of the Greeks. *Seth Way*, written by Caroline, is a narrative of New Harmony days during Owen's time and is in the form of a story told to her by her grandmother who lived in New Harmony at the time. It is an attempt to put forth Owen's ideas of his "new moral world" and communism and brings in the activities of the scientists who were at New Harmony. The book is not accurate in detail as to historic matters and is not as well written as her book *The Coward of Thermopylae* which has received very favorable criticism. Caroline is a gifted but not inspired musician. She plays the piano and has written some music, none published. She married Charles H. Snedeker, the Episcopal Rector of St. George Parish at Hempstead, Long Island. She resides at the rectory at Hempstead. She has no children.

Ada Parke, her sister, was born in 1873. She was interested in botany, zoology, chirography, French and Italian and studied these over a period of years, but she was not as intellectual as Caroline. She studied voice culture in Paris under Jean De Reszke and had a fine colorature voice but she found she was not gifted in music and turned to charity work. She has always played the viola. She returned to the United States and after spending some time in an Episcopal training school, joined a religious order and worked the rest of her life in a Magdalen Home in Brooklyn. The Owen altruism was strong in Ada and she took up this work to do her share for the good of the world. She had many serious illnesses during her life and her health was always poor. She was therefore forced to lead a comparatively quiet life. She developed much charm after entering the sisterhood, but was always very retiring and very unassuming. She had a droll humor. She died in 1918 of Bright's Disease.

Julius, brother of Ada and Caroline, born 1875, had scarlet fever when young and was unconscious for some days during the illness. Otherwise he had no disease history. When young he did not seem to be interested at all in musical matters, but

at the age of fourteen, took up the study of the cello and became a skilful player and played true as a man. Because of this decided musical ability, the Cincinnati Symphony orchestra made him an offer, but his father preferred a business training for him and he was sent to Yale university to study architecture. After graduation he lived in various places and worked as a draftsman and though interested and happy in his work was not successful and worried much over the money affairs of his family. It has been said that Julius should have been given the opportunity to have developed his one genius trait, that of music, in which he was very much interested. Julius died in 1912 leaving a wife, May Trivett, and three children. His wife, also a musician, taught the piano after her husband's death to support the family. She also has composed. The oldest child, Robert, born 1904, plays the violin, Loraine, born 1908, plays both the harp and the violin well and Julius, now twelve, shows marked ability with the violin. They all live at 95 Richton Ave., Highland Park, Detroit.

Anna, born 1877, sister of Julius, also had scarlet fever as a child. As she grew older she became more interested in people and became quite altruistic, being especially good to little children. She resembled the Parkes in temperament and was more high-tempered than any of her sibs. She was very musical, playing the violin, but she did not have as much music in her as did her younger sister Nina. She was very attractive physically. Her husband, Carl Maier, of Los Angeles, comes from a musical family. His mother was an opera singer; his mother's uncle was a cellist and his father had some musical heredity. Their one son, Owen Maier, born 1911, is just now beginning to play on the piano, and, in the opinion of Mrs. Snedeker, with whom he is now living, will some time be a fine performer. Anna died in 1913.

Nina, born 1880, the last child of Charles Parke, was very musical. She played the violin and the cello with perfect sense of rhythm and tone. She does not have the big technic of a concert player because she has a small hand. She is practical and domestic in nature, more so than any of the Parkes and has the altruistic note of the Owens, like her sister Anna, and more of the Owen charm than Caroline. She married Dr. Frederick Stillwell and resides at 3770 Reading Road, Avon-

dale, Cincinnati, Ohio. They have one child, Caroline, born 1911, who has a remarkable sense of music, both in melody and rhythm, but not as developed as that of her uncle and aunts in the preceding generation. This is the last of the Parkes.

Anna Owen, daughter of David Dale Owen, is next and last in the list of his children. She was always mentally alert and a tomboy as a child. She was intellectually interested in many things and had many of the characteristic Owen traits though not in as strong a degree as the older members of the family. Her first husband was named Shult; her second by whom she had all her children, was Charles Crawford, a business man. She lived in Cincinnati and Bay St. Louis, Miss. She died in 1912. Her two children are Owen, born 1874, and Louise, born a few years later. Owen received a college education and entered the railroad business where he has been successful. He has some of the Owen altruism and charm of manner. He is married and has three small children and now resides in Bay St. Louis. Louise, his sister, has the Owen altruism and is personally unselfish and very kind to others. During the World war she worked in a railroad office and did very well. She also resides in Bay St. Louis.

This completes the story of David's children. The children of Alfred have had none of the distinctive Owen traits of character. One group that of Nina, has shown a strong musical strain. One in that group also is a writer of some note. Otherwise the Owen intellectual ability of old has not appeared in this group though the Owen temperament has been quite prominent.

#### RICHARD OWEN AND HIS DESCENDANTS

Richard Owen, the last son of Robert, born January 6, 1810, in Lanarkshire, Scotland, received his early training and education in the Lanark grammar school after which he was a student at Hofwyl in Switzerland as were his other brothers. He left Hofwyl and studied for a time in the Andersonian Institute in Glasgow. In 1828 he came to this country, to New Harmony, and taught for a time in the community

schools. After the breaking up of the community he went to Cincinnati where he engaged in business but subsequently returned to New Harmony where he owned and operated a steam flour mill and also managed a stock farm. In 1847 he fought in the Mexican war and immediately after that assisted his brother David in his geological work. In 1849 he became professor of natural science in the Western Military Institute of Kentucky and he continued to hold that chair after that school became the academic school of the University of Nashville. In 1858 he was given the degree of doctor of medicine by the Nashville Medical College. He then became assistant geologist of the state of Indiana. He rose to the rank of colonel during the Civil war and during part of this time was commanding officer of the prison camp for Confederate soldiers at Camp Morton, Indianapolis. The esteem in which he was held by the prisoners is shown by the fact that some years later these same Confederate prisoners placed a bust of Colonel Owen in the State House in Indianapolis and inscribed to that effect. In 1864 he accepted the chair of natural science in the state university of Indiana and held that until 1879. Besides geology and natural science, he has published a paper in meteorology, terrestrial magnetism and seismology.

Richard Owen was a gentleman of the old school, gracious, calm, lacking in self-consciousness. He was altruistic in nature and especially interested in children. In later years he became more irritable and cross and moody at times. He had no particular musical ability. In later years he was very deaf. He died in 1890 at the age of eighty. "His first desire was to be virtuous, his second to be wise," is found written on his tombstone.

His wife was Anna Neef, sister of Caroline Neef who married David Dale Owen. She was a woman of high ideals and principles, kindly and altruistic, witty and vivacious. She imbibed information without being a student. She was the first lady of New Harmony, socially. She was born in 1819 in France, died in 1895, and is buried in New Harmony. Richard and Anne had two children, Eugene and Horace. The former, Eugene Fellenberg, received his education in the United States. He became a farmer and raised stock. He studied the pedigrees of his cattle scientifically as he did other things in which

he was interested. He was a dreamer, however, and not a good business man. Easy, generous and confiding, like most of the Owens, he lost much money in various ventures, some in a land scheme in Oklahoma. He was an officer in the United States army during the Civil war. He was always deaf and this increased with age. He married Della Mann and lived in New Harmony all his life. His death occurred in 1905. His wife, Della, born 1843, had little education and training; her information has been absorbed through contact with others. She is kindly and charitable in thought and deed. She has been industrious all her life and a good housekeeper. Her parents died young and she was brought up in Mary Fitton's home. Her father was a man of fair intelligence, by profession, a physician. Two sisters of Della have married into the Owen family; otherwise there are no data of Della's family. Now, at the age of seventy-eight, she is a gentle lady, still active. Eugene and Della had three children, Howard, who died at the age of eleven, Malcolm and Robert Dale. Malcolm, born in 1870 in New Harmony, attended college at Indiana university where he was very popular. He later studied law with his uncle Ernest in Chicago and since that time has been successful in his law practice. Malcolm is courteous, gracious and kindly, a typical Owen in temperament. He married his cousin, Catherine Fitton, as previously mentioned, has two children, and lives in Chicago.

Malcom's brother, Robert Dale, born 1879, was a handsome boy and later a fine looking man. He was more democratic than his father. He had good business ability and was employed as a travelling man for a bank furnishing house in Des Moines, Iowa. He lacked certain inhibitions. He died of disease in 1917. He was never married.

Horace Pestalozzi Owen was the second child of Richard and was born in New Harmony in 1842. He received his early education in private schools and the Western Military Institute at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, an institution owned by his father and General Bushnell Johnson, which later became part of the University of Nashville as previously stated. About this time the sectional feeling that preceded the Civil war was growing more and more bitter, and on this account the father came north. Colonel Richard Owen was state geologist at this

time and Horace assisted him in this work for several years. Then the Civil war came and Horace enlisted in the service, rose rapidly, and was adjutant of a brigade when he resigned in 1863 to return to New Harmony to care for his mother, his father remaining in the service until the end of the war. He turned to business and entered the implement business with V. C. Duclos as a partner. He was later in the dry goods business, then in the grain business in Terre Haute. He returned to New Harmony and became cashier of the New Harmony Banking company at its organization. He later became president of the bank and held the position until he died. He served as a member of the New Harmony school board for many years and president of the Workingman's Institute. He was also senior warden of the Episcopal church in New Harmony for many years.

Horace had the Owen characteristics to a very marked degree, and was much like his father. He stands out in this group and elsewhere than in New Harmony would have been a great philanthropist. He was very altruistic and was the most typical Owen of his generation. He was always courteous, kind, and liked by everyone—a well-rounded character. His wife was Natalie Mann, sister of Della, who married Eugene Owen. Horace Owen had three children, Nora, Aline, and Richard Dale. Nora, born 1868 in New Harmony, was a strong character, gracious, tactful and politic. She had a common school education. She too was musical. She married Arthur D. Armstrong, of Evansville, Indiana, a successful man in the furniture business, and they resided for some years in Memphis, Tenn. Nora died in 1918 of influenza. Nora and Arthur Armstrong had two children, Natalie and Owen. The older, born about 1890, has some musical ability. She is well educated. She married Robert E. L. Wilson, has two small children, and now resides at Wilson's Station, Arkansas. The other child of Nora, Owen, born about 1894, graduated from Princeton college. He has a fine tenor voice and has sung for some years in the church choir. He is associated with his father in the furniture business and resides in Memphis, Tennessee.

Aline Owen, born 1870 in New Harmony, had a high school education. She has the calm, quiet disposition of the earlier

Owens, and while generous, is not altruistic. She married Dr. Benjamin Neal, and is now employed in one of the local banks in New Harmony where she resides. Her brother, Richard Dale Owen, born 1876, is the last child of Horace and Natalie Owen. He is a man of fine instincts, good intelligence and some of the Owen kindly characteristics. He is associated with his brother-in-law in the furniture business at Memphis. His wife, Lucille Eagle from New Harmony, has marked musical ability. She sings and also teaches music. They have two children: Kenneth, born 1904, considered by all "a typical Owen" in temperament, entering college in 1922, and a younger girl, Frances.

This ends the description of the descendants of Robert Owen as Margaret Owen, the last child of Robert Owen, never came to the United States and was never married.

#### THE GENERAL SUMMARY

Robert Owen and his sons were prominent in the social, political, educational and scientific life of their time. The biographical and genealogical data of the ancestry and the descendants of such a family then are of interest. In this paper their achievements have been noted. There has also been added something of their personal traits, their temperaments, their likes and dislikes, their ambitions and desires. The noting of these different traits added to the picture of the individual perhaps makes his actions more clear, explains his behavior and interests. The altruism of Robert Owen made him spend a fortune in attempts to better the conditions of his fellow men. This same altruism, love of fellow man in general, devotion to the interests of others, is a trait found in many of the Owen family. The "Owen charm and graciousness of manner," noted in the foregoing description, here and there, is another trait of interest. Robert Owen possessed a keen business sense; it is found in only one of his children and in a few of his later descendants. The Owens in later years have not been wealthy. Music and other arts have found warm friends in many of the family. The Fauntleroys and the Parkes have made a name for themselves in music. Rob-

ert Dale Owen was a voluminous writer. Several others have been writers of more or less note. Robert Dale Owen was a statesman. Many have been soldiers.

The reader of a paper of this sort desires not to be wearied by immaterial dates of birth and other like notes. The complete genealogical and biographical data of the Owen family with much that is not noted here, data of material interest, however, are filed in the archives of the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York.

The lineage of Robert Owen goes back only to his father, an ironmonger and local official in a small place in Wales, Newtown. His mother was "superior in mind and manner." It is unfortunate that no more is known of the folk, the blood, that produced Robert Owen, the idealist, educator, reformer and communist. His wife, Ann Caroline Dale, originated from a family in whose veins the best blood of Scotland has flowed, the Argylls and the Breadalbanes. Is it to be wondered at that the children of this pair have ability, charm, interest in art and music? Robert Dale Owen, the son of Robert Owen, was a statesman of America. This same Robert Dale and his daughter were writers. Jane Owen, another child of Robert Owen, was a teacher and married a brilliant young scientist, Robert H. Fauntleroy, and their daughter was Constance Fauntleroy Runcie who made a name for herself as a composer of music and as a writer and organizer. This same musical ability is found in the descendants of David Dale Owen, another son of Robert Owen. David Dale was the geologist and scientist. A writer of no mean ability, though not voluminous, is Caroline Dale Snedeker, of the David branch. The other son of Robert Owen was Richard, a soldier, scientist and later a teacher of natural science at Indiana university.

The altruism which is found in Robert Owen, and, to a less degree, in David Dale, his father-in-law, is again reproduced in many of his descendants. Robert Dale Owen was an altruist; Rosamond Owen Templeton gave her home for the care of wounded British soldiers during the late war; Julian Owen did for his fellow citizens in a small way, Constance Fauntleroy Runcie was the constant aid of her minister husband, Ellinor Davidson has been a philanthropist so far as her re-

sources permit, Alfred, son of David, and his three sisters were altruistic in nature, Horace P. Owen was philanthropic and large-hearted and many others had the trait but in a less marked degree.

The Owen charm and graciousness of manner, so characteristic of the earlier members of the family, is found here and there among the descendants and is quickly recognized and felt by those who have the good fortune to meet it.

A high grade of intellectual ability is found in Robert Owen and his three genius sons. This same high grade of mental ability is found in others of the family, not in all, it is true, because some of the matings of the Owens have been into strains not as strong as themselves and the offspring have inherited also from the out-blood. Three of the sons of Robert had high-grade mental ability, Robert the statesman, David and Richard the scientists. Others with high intellectual ability were Constance Fauntleroy Runcie, who studied science as well as the arts, Grace Owen Zering, who died in her early twenties, William H. Owen, a student of astronomy, and some others. It is interesting to add here that not a single feeble-minded person is found in the Owen family.

Progress has been made in the technique of the measurement of general mental intelligence. The army intelligence tests and other psychological tests are offering measuring sticks for mental ability. The temperamental traits, however, can not as yet be measured with a yard stick as one measures the height of an individual, but as time goes on, it is probable that the behavior traits in turn will be measured quantitatively just as they now are observed qualitatively. The further study of such families as the Owens, where distinctive traits and behavior, as here, can be observed and reported, with technique of observation continually becoming better, will in time amass a set of information which will show what traits of behavior are inherited, how they are influenced by training and "environment," and what behavior reactions depend alone on the associations of the individual concerned.

This study of human behavior is here presented to stimulate interest in this type of biographical genealogy. It is also presented to show that certain traits and methods of behavior

are continually present or reappearing in a family and that a certain high grade of mental ability is characteristic of a group, but not necessarily found in every member of that group. It also shows a group of socially minded, thoughtful people. The Owens have been an aristogenic family and their activities and behavior and traits are therefore of public interest.

## Historical News

By THE INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

The Fourth annual conference on Indiana history held under the auspices of the society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana historical society and the Indiana historical commission, was held on December 8th and 9th, 1922. From the standpoint of interest and attendance, the Fourth conference was by far the most successful that has yet been held. There were three hundred and forty-two registrations, and perhaps seventy-five or one hundred who did not register, making the total attendance run well over four hundred. Fifty-four of the ninety-two counties were represented. Four hundred and sixty-eight attended the annual pioneer dinner on Saturday evening. Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the Iowa historical society, Hamlin Garland, author, New York, and George R. Fox of Three Oaks, Michigan, were the principal speakers at the conference.

The Friday afternoon program was given over chiefly to a discussion of the problems relating to county and local historical societies. Reports from the committees that were appointed at the preceding conference were given, consisting of a report on School Co-operation by Prof. Herbert Briggs of Terre Haute; The Congressional Advisory committee on Historical Co-operation by Ben F. Stuart of Burnettsville; The Archaeological and Historical Survey of Indiana, by John W. Oliver; and a series of reports from representatives from county historical societies. Professor Shambaugh gave an address on Our Relation to History. His talk was an inspiration to all the historical workers in Indiana; a discussion followed, in which many of the problems of the local societies were considered.

A special meeting of the Indiana historical society was also held Friday afternoon at which time a memorial tribute was read to the memory of the late Delavan Smith. It will be recalled by readers of this *Magazine* that Mr. Smith left to the Indiana historical society a cash bequest of \$150,000 and his valuable private library on Americana.

On Friday evening the Indiana federation of clubs had charge of the program. A talk by Mrs. W. J. Torrance, president, on Co-operation of the Indiana Federation of Clubs with State Historical Work followed by a pageant on The Story of the Fauntleroy Home, given by the Woman's Research club of Indianapolis, comprised the evening's program.

The Saturday morning program consisted of a talk by Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb on the Lincoln memorial association; a paper by Senator Roscoe Kiper of Boonville, on Lincoln's Boyhood Days In Indiana; an address by Hamlin Garland on Pioneer Reminiscences; and was concluded by a discussion led by Professor Shambaugh.

The program Saturday afternoon consisted of a talk by J. P. Dunn, secretary of the Indiana historical society, on Early Northern Indiana History; a talk by B. J. Griswold of Fort Wayne on A Century of Fort Wayne; and an address by George R. Fox of Three Oaks, Michigan, on The Educational Museum.

The annual dinner by the society of Indiana pioneers was given Saturday evening followed by a program which consisted of: Greetings from Dr. Shambaugh; Personal Reminiscences of Indiana Authors, by Hamlin Garland; two readings by Miss Isabelle Garland, daughter of Hamlin Garland, and the singing of pioneer songs by the audience.

A program committee consisting of Thomas James de la Hunt of Cannelton, Miss Vida Newsom of Columbus, and Mrs. Sam Matthews of Tipton, was appointed to make arrangements for the Fifth annual history conference in December, 1923.

That there is a rapidly increasing interest manifested in the study of local history is shown by the number of new county historical societies that are being organized in Indiana. There are today fifty-five county historical societies in the state. Membership in these local societies numbers all the way from twenty-five to thirty in the smaller counties up to more than two hundred in the larger ones. Since the last issue of this *Magazine* societies have been organized in the following counties:

The Posey County historical society was organized November 24, 1922, with the following officers: James H. Blackburn,

president; Miss Lola Nolte, secretary and curator; Mrs. George Ford, treasurer; and Miss Caroline Crease, genealogist; vice-presidents, Mrs. B. O. Hanby, Black township; Mrs. Nora Fretageot, Harmony township; Mrs. James Gudgel, Smith township; J. P. Cox, Center township; Patrick H. Lynn, Marrs township; James Morlock, Point township; Mrs. Charles Miller, Bethel township; Rev. Beach Robb and Charles Raben, Robinson township; Mrs. R. E. Wilson, Lynn township.

The Sullivan County historical society was organized November 25, 1922, with the following officers: John C. Chaney, president; Rachael K. Harris, secretary; Dan Helms, treasurer; vice-presidents: Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs, Hamilton township; Miss Mabel Brewer, Gill township; W. H. Thomas, Fairbank township; J. M. Nash, Haddon township; Mrs. Feldman, Cass township; Miss Irma Rounds, Turman township; J. G. Burnett, Jackson township; Dave Newkirk, Jefferson township; A. A. Carter, Curry township.

The Scott County historical society was organized the same day, November 25, 1922, and the following officers elected: Miss Permelia Boyd, president; Clinton H. Gamble, vice-president; William Storen, secretary; Miss Kate McClain, treasurer; vice-presidents: Miss Alice Gamble, Finley township; E. A. Gladden, Johnson township; C. F. Harrod, Jennings township, Jesse Storen, Lexington township; Miss Ella Dinsmore, Vienna township.

December 3 the Benton-Fountain-Warren historical society was organized. Following the example of the eight pocket counties the three counties above mentioned have united in a tri-county organization. The following officers were elected: J. W. Whicker of Fountain county, president; Mrs. Della Reed of Fountain county, vice-president; Jesse Birch of Benton county, 2nd vice-president; Mrs. Clara C. Smith of Warren county, 3rd vice-president; Mrs. Ella L. Stephenson of Warren county, secretary-treasurer.

In addition to the tri-county organization there was recently a local historical society in West Lebanon of which Mrs. Ella L. Stephenson is president; Mrs. M. A. Judy, vice-president; and Mrs. S. G. Pomeroy, secretary. The object of the

society is to co-operate with the tri-county organization in working in the field of local history.

January 16, 1923, the Wabash County historical society was organized, and the following officers were elected: Mrs. R. F. Lutz, president; Dr. P. G. Moore, vice-president; Mrs. Elmer Burns, secretary; Ellis Bloomer, treasurer.

January 9, 1823, the Tippecanoe County historical society was organized with the following officers: J. O. Beck, president; Miss Stella Fox, secretary; Mrs. C. Q. Erisman, treasurer.

The Vigo County historical society was organized January 18, 1923, with the following officers: Judge D. W. Henry, president; George Scott, vice-president; Mrs. Sallie C. Hughes, secretary; Miss Grace Davis, assistant secretary; Miss Margaret Markle, treasurer; Miss Florence Crawford, genealogist; Miss Anna Sankey, curator.

An interesting historical find is described by Mrs. Harriet F. Ferree of Mauckport, Harrison county, as follows:

On July 9, 1863, when General Morgan crossed the Ohio river into Indiana he set fire to the boat Alice Dean and sank it one hundred yards above Buck creek. Many curiosity seekers have explored this scene for years to obtain relics. Many pieces of timbers from the hull of the boat have been carried away, but nothing of more value has been unearthed until last Sunday, October 8, when Marion and Norval Frank and Virgil Applegate, of Mauckport, visited the scene and unearthed the tool chest of this boat. It contained the following articles: 3 locks, 8 different kinds of hammers, bolt cutters, a die, 5 pairs of smith tongs, one large four-foot wrench, one compass in good condition, 1 square, numerous wedges, one ratchet, one brace and bit, a large number of nuts, taps of different kinds, a crowbar, babbet metal, fire bricks, large and small sizes and many other small articles. They sent a hammer to the Harrison County historical society of the county for a relic.

Saturday November 11, 1922, the Lone Tree chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution, Greensburg, Indiana, dedicated a memorial boulder to Col. Thomas Hendricks, which was presented to the city of Greensburg by Mrs. John N. Carey of Indianapolis, a granddaughter of Colonel Hendricks. The marker was unveiled by three granddaughters of the do-

nor, Martha and Barbara Haines and Ervin Moxley. The following is a copy of the inscription on the bronze tablet:

1822

1922

Col. Thomas Hendricks,  
 Veteran of the War of 1812  
 Founded this town in 1821  
 He built the first cabin and donated  
 100 acres of ground to the new  
 town. On June 14, 1833,  
 Elizabeth Trimble Hendricks  
 Wife of Col. Thomas Hendricks  
 named Greensburg in honor of her  
 native town in Pennsylvania.  
 Erected by the  
 Daughters of the American Revolution.

Sunday afternoon, November 19, on the banks of Offield creek, five and one-half miles southwest of Crawfordsville, the Montgomery County historical society held a dedicatory program in honor of William Offield, the first settler in Montgomery county. Some forty years ago, in 1881, a boulder was first placed on the site where the Offield cabin stood. At the meeting November 19 Dumont Kennedy, now president of the Montgomery County historical society, and son of Peter S. Kennedy, who placed the first marker to William Offield, presided at the meeting, and told an interesting history of William Offield and his pioneer life. The inscription on the boulder which is now embedded in a concrete base, is very simple and reads:

William Offield  
 Settled here, Feb. 1821.

Membership in the Indiana historical society is now one thousand and twenty-six, according to the report of Lucy M. Elliott, assistant secretary of the society. This is the first time in its history that the society has passed the one thousand mark.

A meeting of the Francis Vigo chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, took place yesterday in the William Henry Harrison house in Vincennes. The session was held in the council chamber where Gen. Harrison held his conferences. Among the relics recently contributed which were displayed at the meeting were three spinning wheels, 100

years old, with the flax ready for spinning, given by James Fries and a chair given by Mrs. W. H. Watts which is 100 years old. Miss Mary Brittain gave to the museum a Spanish dollar, 128 years old, which was found in an Indian mound in this county a short time ago.—Indianapolis *News*, November 24, 1922.



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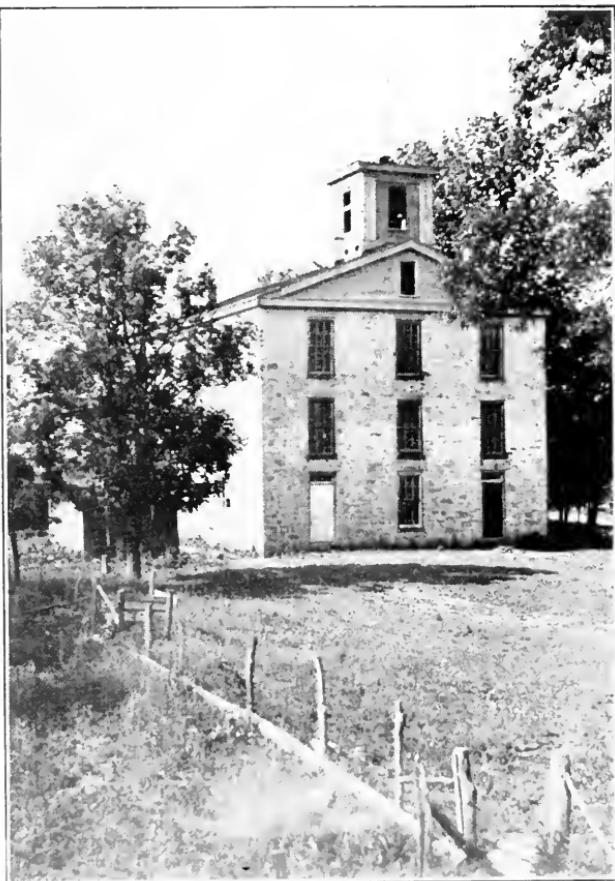
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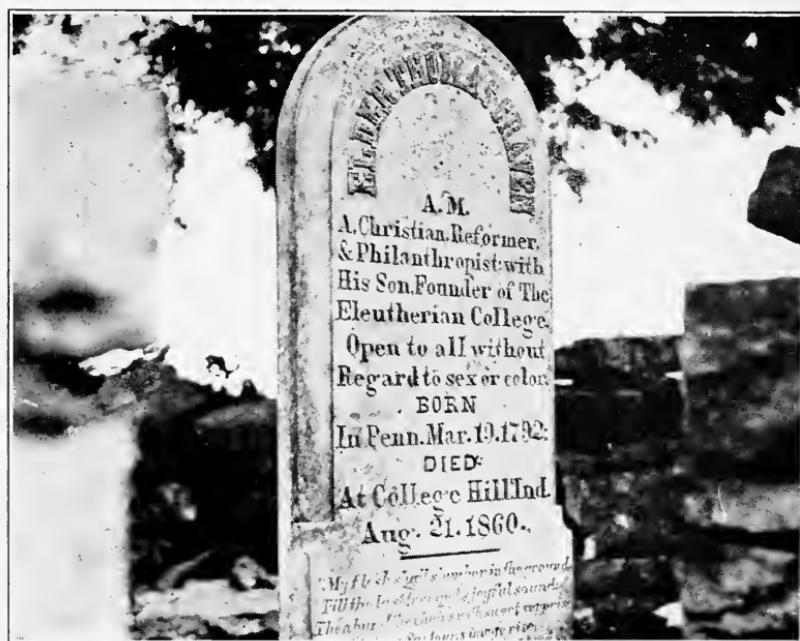
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ELEUTHERIAN COLLEGE



GRAVESTONE OF THOMAS CRAVEN

# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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## Eleutherian Institute

A SKETCH OF A UNIQUE STEP IN THE EDUCATIONAL  
HISTORY OF INDIANA

By WILLIAM C. THOMPSON, Indianapolis

Ten miles north-west of the city of Madison, Jefferson county, Indiana, is located the village of Lancaster. It is picturesquely situated both beneath and upon the hills, at the place where two streams meet, Middlefork and Big creek. More than sixty years ago this little village of Lancaster was the scene of what was up to that time the most unique step ever taken in the educational history and progress of Indiana. That step was the founding of a school, having in view both common and higher learning, and open alike to both white and negro races. Lancaster and vicinity had previous to that time been the center of a considerable anti-slavery sentiment, which had taken shape in the formation in 1839 of the "Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Society," the records of which are now deposited in the Indiana State Library. The Neil's Creek neighborhood was some three miles west of Lancaster. It is probable that James Nelson, who with his brother Daniel, had emigrated from Vermont to Jefferson county about the year 1820, was the leading spirit in the organization of this society. Its records are interesting as showing the trend of anti-slavery sentiment in that early day, and the considerable number of members that were willing to incur the odium of entering upon an aggressive anti-slavery agitation. The first settlers of Jefferson county were largely from Kentucky and

Virginia, and while not exactly pro-slavery in sentiment, were inclined to view with disapproval any agitation of the slavery question. However, there was a fair proportion of New England people among these early settlers, and such were generally anti-slavery in sentiment. The fugitive slave, therefore, who crossed the Ohio river by the help of such masters of transportation as Rev. Chapman Harris, of Madison, a colored preacher and blacksmith, and "Jim" Hackney, of Hanover, himself a half breed Indian and negro, found numerous friends in Jefferson county. Whether such fugitive's course northward was by way of Lancaster, among the Nelsons the Hoyts and the Tibbettses, or by way of Monroe church among the Elliotts and the Baxters, or by way of Canaan, among other abolitionists, daylight of the next morning after the arrival of such runaway slave upon free soil, usually found him safely hid in some abolition barn loft in Jennings or Ripley county. Here he was for the time being secure from molestation from Wright Rea or slave catchers of his class. An abolition Baptist church had been formed at Lancaster which afterwards became the College Hill Baptist church. By reason of its known anti-slavery sentiment this church could not at first affiliate with the Madison Baptist Association, but united with an association of anti-slavery Baptist churches in northern Ohio. About the beginning of the Civil war, however, it was admitted to membership in the Madison association. The existence of this church and the reasons heretofore given made Lancaster seem a fit place to establish a school where educational privileges would be open to the negro. The idea of such an institution was first conceived in the mind of Rev. Thomas Craven, of Oxford, Ohio, who had visited Lancaster and preached to the abolition church. Mr. Craven was a Pennsylvanian by birth, a soldier of the war of 1812, and a pioneer teacher and Baptist minister of eastern Indiana, while the state was yet a territory. He completed a classical course of study at Miami university when past fifty years of age. After the year 1854 he made his home at Lancaster, or College Hill, as it was sometimes afterwards called, until his death in 1860.

The institution began its work in 1849, and it was named "Eleutherian Institute" from the Greek word "eleutheros"

because the school was to be dedicated to the idea of freedom and equality. It was incorporated soon after its establishment. Rev. John G. Craven, a son of Thomas Craven, was the first teacher in the school, and he was soon joined by Prof. John C. Thompson, of South Salem, Ohio, a son-in-law of Thomas Craven. The patronage of the school not being sufficient at its beginning to support two teachers, Professor Thompson, the father of the writer of this sketch, returned to Ohio after one year's service. As early as the year 1850 the pro-slavery sentiment of the community surrounding the young institution began to view with much disapproval the founding of a school where educational privileges were open to the negro. The boldest spirits among those of pro-slavery sentiment became incensed at the very audacity of a scheme for an abolition college in their midst. As an outgrowth of this sentiment the incendiary's torch was appealed to, and in the year 1850 three houses were burned, which it was supposed would be occupied by persons of negro blood while attending the school. Two of these houses were burned just as they were being completed. They were located about a quarter of a mile south-east of where the institute buildings stand, and were built by a Mississippi planter named Brown. Brown had married a wife with a tinge of negro blood, bought land near Lancaster and proceeded to improve it, with the intention of living there, while his children by this marriage could be educated. The other house that was burned was located on the east bank of Middlefork creek, a short distance north of where that stream is now spanned by an iron bridge. The site of the burned house has for many years been overgrown with trees. These acts of incendiarism had no influence whatever in deterring the founders of the school from their purpose. Some two years afterwards, when the black laws of Indiana had become in force, the law attempted to lay its mailed hand upon the institution. A prosecution was begun against Prof. John G. Craven and James Nelson, who, with his good wife "Aunt Lucy," kept the dormitory. They were charged with harboring negroes, and encouraging negroes to come into Indiana, "contrary to the statutes in such cases made and provided." The accused abolitionists went to Madison to answer the charge, expecting to be put upon their trial,

and withal somewhat hopeful that they might be permitted to spend at least a brief season in the Jefferson county jail. They by no means regarded martyrdom as a thing to be dreaded, and believed they were being persecuted for righteousness' sake. Through the influence of Judge Stephen C. Stevens, their counsel, then a prominent member of the Madison bar, himself an abolitionist and a warm friend of the school, the accused were permitted to go upon their own recognizance, and the cases were never afterwards pressed for trial. It may be said that after this time no serious persecution was again attempted against those connected with the institution. Even before the breaking out of the Civil war the community almost regardless of political sentiment recognized that the institution was of great benefit in their midst, and many who at first opposed afterwards became patrons of the school.

Thomas Craven donated the land upon which the buildings were erected. By means of his own and other contributions enough funds were secured to erect two substantial buildings, one for a chapel and school rooms, the other a dormitory. These buildings are built of rough limestone, which was quarried in the immediate vicinity. The dormitory was two stories in height, contained fifteen rooms, and was completed in 1850. The institute building was three stories in height, contained seven rooms besides the chapel and was completed in 1856. This building is surmounted by a tower or cupola from the top of which a very picturesque view of the surrounding country may be had, including a glimpse of the town of Dupont, four miles to the north. Thomas Craven was himself the most generous of all donors to the institution; for in addition to his gifts of land and money, he freely devoted his time to the solicitation of funds and students for the institution, traveling throughout south-eastern Indiana and south-western Ohio. During the year 1858, in company with Mr. E. K. Tibbetts, a student of the institution, he traveled as far east as Boston, Mass., soliciting aid for the school, but with only a moderate degree of success. Before his death he made a conditional donation of \$1,000 to the institution, which was to be payable when certain debts of the school were discharged. After his death the executor of his estate contested the payment of this subscription, on the ground that

the condition had not been complied with. The matter was submitted to arbitration, and decided in favor of the institution, this being the only litigation, so far as I am aware, in which the school was ever involved. The institution never had an endowment, and as its teachers had to depend upon the tuition fees of students for compensation, whatever high thinking such teachers did, had to rest upon a basis of very plain living. They could have suggested from their own practical experience a solution of the vexed problem of the present day, the high cost of living.

Prof. John G. Craven was the principal of the institution from its beginning to the autumn of 1861, when he removed to Minnesota. It was during his principalship of the school that negro pupils attended. The patronage of negro students was never large, owing in part to the menace of the black laws of Indiana, but more especially, I think, to the well nigh universal lack among free negroes of that time of the means whereby an education could be secured. Most prominent among the negro pupils of the institution was Moses Broyles, for many years a leader among the negroes of Indiana in educational and religious advancement. He came to Lancaster in the early fifties, having been born a slave in Kentucky, but having been allowed to purchase his freedom after arriving at years of manhood. Tradition says that Broyles was bashful and diffident when he first appeared at the school, and that when he would attempt to recite or speak in debate he would be seized with coughing and choking spells. By degrees he overcame these faults, and became a forceful and eloquent speaker. Broyles was a genuine Moses, in fact as well as in name, to the negro Baptists of Indiana; and in the opinion of Dr. W. T. Stott, former president of Franklin college, the Eleutherian Institute would amply justify its existence and its cost, if it had educated no other pupil than Moses Broyles. A few other colored pupils progressed to the point of fitness for teaching in common schools, but by far the greater number of negro pupils pursued learning no further than the elementary principles represented by the three Rs. Pupils of negro blood came from as far south as New Orleans and Jackson, Mississippi, but the greater part were from Kentucky.

If the traditions of the school may be relied upon, some of

the best blood of the south was represented at College Hill. Two young women named Lucy and Georgiana Jefferson were pupils there for a time. Their father was one of the first negro residents of Indianapolis, had been a slave of Thomas Jefferson, and in abolition circles was reputed to be the natural son, by a slave mother, of the great author of the Declaration of Independence. Professor Craven once told me that he did not doubt the truth of this tradition respecting Jefferson's parentage. I do not vouch for the truth of the tradition. I merely assert that such a tradition was current respecting these two young women. Theodore Johnson, a colored pupil from Kentucky, was reputed to be the natural son of Col. Richard M. Johnson, once vice president of the United States. He remained a pupil until the outbreak of the Civil war, when he enlisted in the union army and died in the military service. Johnson always claimed that he was a son of Col. Richard M. Johnson, and there is corroboration of this claim, from the fact that his bills were paid by drafts on a Louisville bank drawn by those who were interested in the settlement of Colonel Johnson's estate. Johnson was a bright pupil, and he was the envy of some of the boys of his age, by reason of being the possessor of an illustrated paper containing pictures of the Sayers and Heenan prize fight which took place in England in 1860. Two young women with negro blood by the name of Taylor, from Newport, Kentucky, were pupils at College Hill. They were reputed to be daughters of a Col. Taylor, who tradition said, once lost thirty slaves in one night, by means of their crossing the Ohio river on the ice. Another colored pupil, Louisa Page, from near Carrollton, Kentucky, showed the scars upon her lips caused, so it was said, by a cruel mistress attempting to sew her mouth shut. Two of her brothers, "Jim" and George, were also pupils, the freedom of the whole family having been purchased by their father. It is not likely that more than forty negroes or persons of negro blood attended the school during its entire history. The statements have been made with reference to this old institution, that fugitive slaves were brought there and partially educated before being sent on toward Canada. Such statements are wholly fanciful, and have no basis in fact. An undertaking of that kind would have been hazardous

in the extreme. I only know of one instance where a pupil of the school was supposed to be still owned as a slave. This was a young woman from New Orleans or vicinity, having scarcely a trace of negro blood, who was brought north by her master to be educated. At one time it was rumored that she was about to be returned to slavery, and she was temporarily taken to Lebanon, Ohio, by Mrs. Ellen Collett, a daughter of Thomas Craven. The alarm of her friends proved groundless; she soon returned to the school, and after securing her education, for some years lived in the home of Hon. John R. Cravens, of Madison. Neither is it true that those connected with Eleutherian Institute engaged in any wholesale manner in the forwarding of fugitive slaves. If a fugitive reached Lancaster, by whatever means or route, the north star was pointed out to him, and he was sped on his way, but such things did not often occur. The stories that Thomas Craven had a secret apartment in the attic of his house, and that Dr. Samuel Tibbetts had a secret tunnel under his barn, where fugitive slaves were concealed, are wholly fanciful, for as a boy I knew every nook and corner of both attic and barn.

Two instances will suffice to show how fugitives were treated in the early days of the institution's history. One night in the summer of 1849 a step was heard on my father's porch and there was a knock at the door. It proved to be Squire Lyman Hoyt, and the intelligence was imparted to my father in subdued tones, that a man from Hanover was waiting in the shadow of the orchard, and with him an escaping fugitive slave, who had crossed the Ohio river that evening. The old family mare was quickly caught in the pasture, the negro placed astride her, and guided by Cushman, a carpenter then working on the dormitory, himself a grandson of Dr. Samuel Tibbetts, the slave property was transported to the Forks of Graham, in Jennings county. There among such abolitionists as the Neals and the Hicklins, there was but little danger of "stoppage in transitu." The same year a colored man came to my father's house in great distress. He was a free negro whose home was at Pittsburgh. He had worked as a roustabout on an Ohio river steamboat, had left the boat at Madison to go back into the country, when he was seized by a gang of white men and mercilessly flogged, for the pur-

pose of making him confess that he was a fugitive slave. This he would not do, and he was finally let go. My father washed his stripes, dressed his wounds, took care of him for a while, when an effort was made to identify and punish his assailants; but without avail, there being no evidence sufficient to identify the guilty parties. These instances are enough to show that those were "times which tried mens' souls."

The most prosperous years of the Eleutherian Institute were from 1855 to 1861, and at one time during this period the annual enrollment of students exceeded one hundred and fifty. Professor Craven pursued strict, sometimes austere, and at other times even harsh methods of discipline, and he was somewhat eccentric of manner. He was an accurate scholar along certain lines of study, and notwithstanding his peculiarities of method and manner, he usually succeeded in imparting a commendable degree of energy and enthusiasm to his pupils. He was a profound student of the Greek New Testament, and in his later years became an enthusiast in his advocacy of certain changes of translation of divers controverted passages of the New Testament. He died at Smith Center, Kansas, in January, 1894. Those who were associated with Professor Craven during the period from 1849 to 1861 were Prof. John C. Thompson, already mentioned, Mrs. Martha W. Craven, wife of Professor Craven, Mrs. Lucy Hoyt Thompson, Mrs. Lydia Hildreth Hatch, Miss Barbara Thompson, Prof. M. J. Smith and wife, and Judson Smith. The Smiths were Massachusetts people, and were popular and efficient teachers. Prof. M. J. Smith was suspected of leaning toward Unitarianism, and this caused the withdrawal of himself and wife from the institution, and their return to Massachusetts about the year 1860. Judson Smith afterwards became eminent as an educator at Oberlin and Amherst colleges. In his later years he was secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, at Boston, and in this position was one of the chief promoters of the Ecumenical conference on Foreign Missions, held in New York in 1900, over which Ex-President Harrison presided.

Prof. William Brand, formerly of Franklin college, succeeded Professor Craven as principal of the institution, and served from 1861 to 1866. During a part of this time he was

in England soliciting funds for the support and endowment of the school (being himself a native of England). His efforts did not meet with any considerable success. In his absence the school at different times was conducted by the Rev. Samuel Collins, a United Presbyterian minister, and at that time county examiner of Jefferson county, Miss Sarah B. Hoyt and Prof. Solon B. Campbell of Vernon. Professor Campbell's connection with the school lasted about a year, and the year was quite a successful one. The "exhibition" given by himself and pupils in the spring of 1865 was long remembered in the community. This "exhibition" lasted for two evenings before crowded houses in the old chapel, and was a curious but attractive combination of high school oratory, dialogue, and vaudeville stunts of considerable variety.

The Civil war caused a decreased attendance and interest in the school, but the community was not lagging in patriotism. Volunteers drilled upon the institute grounds almost before the smoke of Sumter had cleared away, and some of these who were students enlisted in Indiana's first regiment of the Civil war, the Sixth. The institute grounds were often used for drilling during the war and the chapel for union meetings and concerts. One notable concert given by local talent for the benefit of the union cause received high commendation, and on this occasion Hon. David C. Branham made a fiery union speech, with his characteristic style of oratory, so familiar to old residents of Jefferson county. In fact Lancaster came near feeling the touch of actual war; for Morgan's raiders passed near by, and burned a railroad bridge over Big creek, but two and one half miles north. What might have been the fate of the "nigger college" had their route been through Lancaster can of course only be left to conjecture.

Professor Brand, after leaving Eleutherian Institute in 1866 became a financial solicitor for Franklin college. In this position he was successful in raising what was known as the endowment of the Johnson county professorship, which afterwards formed the nucleus for the present endowment of that institution. Professor Brand was succeeded at College Hill by Prof. F. W. Brown, afterwards and for many years, professor of Latin in Franklin college, and by William H. McCoy, also afterwards connected with Franklin college. Professor

McCoy remained only a part of the year, and after one year Professor Brown accepted a position at Franklin college. They were succeeded in 1867 by Prof. Altheus W. Blinn, and he for a time was associated with Rev. James S. Read, for some years active as a Baptist minister in Indiana, and one of the early graduates of Franklin college. Professor Read suggested a plan by which the Eleutherian Institute was to be taken over, managed and supported by three Baptist associations, the Madison, Coffee Creek, and Sand Creek. The plan was carried out to the extent of appointing a board of directors, with representatives from each of these associations. The support of an institution of learning was too great a burden for so limited a constituency, and the associational control was abandoned in 1870. Professor Blinn was a bachelor well past middle life when he came to College Hill, and was so lame that he walked with a crutch and a cane. He was without much method in the school room, was somewhat eccentric of manner, and a little given to pedantry; but withal he was much respected by his pupils, and imparted much valuable instruction. One eccentricity I remember was the wearing of a linen duster constantly from September until mid-winter, without the same having once visited the laundry. Another peculiarity was the burning of four-foot cord wood in the school room stove, a process that required the ends of the sticks to project from the open door of the stove, a smoky experiment at best. For all that Professor Blinn had an unselfish purpose and did his best for his pupils. He temporarily retired from teaching in the spring of 1870, on account of ill health and was succeeded in the fall of 1870 by Prof. Robert Gilmour, of Cincinnati, a United Presbyterian minister, who had for some years edited a paper of that denomination. Professor Gilmour was a graduate of Washington university, Pennsylvania, and continued as principal of the school until 1874, at one time having a lease upon the buildings. While his school was never large as to numbers he was a successful instructor. In 1878 Prof. John G. Craven, the first teacher in Eleutherian Institute, returned to Jefferson county from Iowa, with the avowed purpose of resuscitating the institution. He continued to conduct the school with some degree of success until 1887,

when the institute building was sold to Lancaster township, for a public school, and Professor Craven removed to Kansas.

Perhaps those who read this sketch will think it ought to be better, and I think so too; but he who tries to write the history of such an institution will soon discover how elusive facts are and especially when they have sped so far into the past. The minute book of the board of directors was in the library of the institution as late as 1886, when I recall seeing it; but it was probably taken to Kansas by Professor Craven. The library of the school was never very large, nor especially adapted to its needs. The books first presented dealt largely with the question of slavery, and Judge Stevens of Madison, and Prof. John C. Thompson were the largest donors of books. No negro pupils attended the school after the year 1861. Of those who were pupils in the school before the Civil war, and who have "made good," I have already mentioned Moses Broyles and Judson Smith. Among the young women who were pupils of the institution, and who at least partially obtained their education there, I am sure I make no invidious comparison in especially mentioning Miss Sarah B. Hoyt, daughter of Lyman Hoyt, and Miss Rebecca J. Thompson, daughter of Prof. John C. Thompson. Miss Hoyt completed a course of study at Oberlin college, and at the time of her death was principal of the Newport, Kentucky, high school, having deservedly high rank as a teacher. Miss Thompson completed a course of study at the Young Ladies Institute, Granville, Ohio, now Shephardson college, and for thirty-eight years held the chair of mathematics in Franklin college, with marked success, retiring in 1910.

Some of the men most intimately connected with the institution in its earlier years as trustees, friends and patrons, aside from those already mentioned, were Dr. Samuel Tibbetts, and his four sons, Samuel, John H., Joshua and Dr. Earl Tibbetts, Milton Craven, a son of Thomas Craven, Benajah and Lyman Hoyt, Lemuel Record, Isaiah Walton, Calvin Hildreth, Reuben Walker, James Baxter, Angus McKay, William D. Kinnear, Jefferson Nelson, and last but not less deserving of mention, William Brazelton, the jolly and odd old postmaster of the village, whose answer to the question, "Is there any mail for

me?" was usually "I think there are." Of course there are many others worthy of mention, but these names occur to me now.

Of those who were students of the institution and who lost their lives in the Civil war I can recall John Baxter, Russell Record, Isaac J. Elliott, Edward Tibbetts, Theodore Johnson, John and William Hughes, sons of David Hughes, Thompson Saulsbury, Calvin Gillett, Linus Literal, Zephaniah Delap and Frank Shaw. Of these John R. Baxter, Isaac J. Elliott, Calvin Gillett and Thompson Saulsbury died in hospital. Russell Record was killed at the battle of Perryville, Ky., Edward Tibbetts near Dalton, Ga., Theodore Johnson at battle of Richmond, Ky., John Hughes at Chicamauga, and Linus Literal and Frank Shaw at Ft. Fisher, N. C., and William Hughes and Zephaniah Delap died in Andersonville prison. It is impossible within the limits of this sketch to name all the students of the "Eleutherian Institute" who enlisted in the union army.

Not having had access to the records of the board of directors some inaccuracies must have unavoidably crept into this sketch; but as to names of teachers and dates of service I am sure there is substantial accuracy.

The idea of Eleutherian Institute undoubtedly was obtained from the plan of Oberlin college in Ohio, the first institution of higher learning in the west, if not in the entire country, to open its doors to negro students. Eleutherian Institute was the first such institution in Indiana, and was founded several years before the Rev. John G. Fee successfully carried out the same plan at Berea, Kentucky. Had not the Civil war come with its momentous changes in the status of the negro race, it is likely that Eleutherian Institute, by reason of its unique distinction and odious notoriety in admitting negro pupils, would have enjoyed a fair degree of patronage and success as long as the system of slavery endured. Emancipation, however, brought some opportunity for education to every negro's door, and this, with the general establishment of the state system of high schools, caused the decline of Eleutherian Institute, as well as the decline of nearly all the other once prosperous academic institutions of Indiana, that were unsupported by endowment. The idea for which the school was

founded has prevailed until every northern college from Harvard down gives to all races equal educational privileges, and this is an abundant success in itself.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THOMAS CRAVEN

Thomas Craven who, with his son, founded Eleutherian college on College Hill in the village of Lancaster, Jefferson county, Indiana, was of English descent. The first one of this branch of the family to come to America came about 1674. Years afterward he set sail for England "to see about some estate," but the ship on which he sailed was captured by a French war vessel, and he was kept a prisoner for a long time. He was not able to communicate with his wife, who had remained in America. After the lapse of several years she concluded that he was dead, and contracted a second marriage; but before doing so she consulted the officials of her church as to the propriety and rightness of this important step, and received their approval. Then Craven, released from his long imprisonment, appeared upon the scene. She gladly returned to her first love.

It is almost certain that the one who had this Enoch Arden experience was Thomas Craven, a blacksmith, husband of Emmetje Isbrants, who from before 1683 to 1718 lived at Kinderhook, about 20 miles down the Hudson from Albany; at Bergen, New Jersey, just across the river from New York; at Gravesend on the west end of Long Island; and finally in New York.

Thomas Craven, the subject of this sketch, was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, March 19, 1792. His parents were married in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in 1779. Shortly after they moved into "the southern part of the state on the waters of the Conecocheague," doubtless Franklin county, and later to Westmoreland county. His father was a Revolutionary soldier and was with Washington at Trenton, Princeton, Valley Forge, and the Brandywine. When Thomas was three years old the family moved across the Conemaugh river into Indiana county, Pennsylvania, and here, in the rough and wild frontier country, he grew to manhood.

The following quotation from the autobiography of Thomas Craven shows something of the conditions surrounding his early life:

My next youngest brother, William, and myself being somewhat discouraged and dissatisfied with our domestic circumstances, obtained permission of my father to leave in the spring and do the best we could for ourselves. Our object was to cross the mountains and go into Huntingdon county, where I had spent one winter before, knowing that we could obtain better wages than in my father's neighborhood. But the place was about 60 miles distant. We had no money with which to bear our expenses on the way, nor even shirts to change ourselves when we arrived there. My father made no offer of giving us the least outfit, and we were too proud to ask him to do so. The time had nearly arrived, the 1st of April, 1811, which we had set to leave home. A day or two preceding we called on our oldest brother, John, and told him our circumstances. Our sister-in-law prepared us some provisions for the way and sold us a piece of linen on credit sufficient to make each of us a shirt to change us. My brother lent us \$1.00 in money. Having got our knapsacks ready and stowed away our provisions, our piece of linen with some other trifling articles of clothing, we went to my father's to spend our last evening in that neighborhood. That night a slight shower of snow fell, but we set out the next morning on our journey.

About six or seven miles on our way we had a large creek to cross which we were obliged to wade. The creek was not very deep but the bottom was rocky and the current was rapid. William, in crossing with his shoes in his hand, unfortunately fell into the water and lost one of his shoes. We stopped, however, at a little village on the mountain called Ebenburgh with a shoemaker and got a piece of leather to make a moccasin, for we were not able to buy a pair of shoes. We offered to pay the shoemaker for the piece of leather but he would make no charge. I suppose, indeed, that we looked like objects of charity. At night I made him a moccasin, and in the morning we set out again with fresh courage, and thus kept on until we arrived at the place of our destination.

Having been acquainted in the place before, we had no difficulty in getting into work or in securing board in the same family where I had formerly boarded. In a little while we were able to buy such articles of clothing and other necessaries as we needed. Here we kept very steadily at work and went but little into company. When the inclemency of the weather hindered us I frequently spent the time in studying arithmetic or reading. When harvest drew nigh we concluded to visit my father and assist him with his harvest, and at the close of it to return again. We did so and paid my brother the bill which he held against us, and helped our father through with his harvest.

As a boy Thomas Craven longed for an education, but in the region where he lived educational facilities were of the

most meager character. So he became his own instructor, and at the age of nineteen, although he had gone to school only nine months in all his life, he qualified as a teacher and taught his first school.

Like many other prudent and practical young men of that time and of this, he resolved that he would not marry until he was comfortably settled in life and could easily support a wife, and he hoped to be thus pleasantly situated by the time he was thirty—but then, he met Rebekah Selfridge. They were married April 14, 1812. For their wedding trip, with many relatives and friends, they floated down the beautiful Ohio to the alluring west—the Land of Promise—never to see Indiana county again. A large flat-boat was constructed on the Conemaugh river and brought down to Newport, Indiana county, where most of the company went on board. Newport was on the north bank of the river, about two miles down the river from the present town of Blairsville. Newport, like those who embarked there is now only a memory—"some of the old chimneys" are all that mark its site.

Of this trip Thomas Craven writes:

But having three horses to take on board, and the river being at rather low stage for boating, it was thought best, in order to have the load as light as possible, that my wife and myself should take the horses and go by land to Pittsburgh, and then take them in there. We did so and arrived in Pittsburgh the second day after we left Newport about noon. The boat had not yet arrived. We visited the Allegheny river several times during the afternoon longing to see the boat appear in sight, not knowing but that it had stuck fast on some of the shoals which it had to pass. At length, about sun-setting in the evening, we discovered a boat coming down the river at such a distance that we could scarcely tell what it was. As it came nearer we discovered it to be a flat-bottomed boat, but we were still not altogether certain that it was ours. However, in a little time we were able to distinguish the voices of some of our friends, a soft gale gently bearing the sound down the current of the river. I need not say that we were glad to be relieved from our state of suspense and to have the privilege of meeting our friends again at the destined point.

Having made the necessary arrangements, we left Pittsburgh and floated slowly down the beautiful Ohio in consequence of the light winds, which generally blew from the west, the roof of our boat being high. However, after a slow passage of seventeen days through a variety of beautiful scenery on every side, we landed safe at Columbia, below the mouth of the Little Miami, about five miles above Cincinnati, on the 17th day of May, 1812.

Among the relatives of Thomas Craven who accompanied him on this trip were his brothers John and William; his father-in-law, Thomas Selfridge, his brother-in-law, William Ferguson, and his cousin, Samuel Craven. Many Indiana people trace their ancestry back to those who came down on this boat. Samuel Craven spent his life in Indiana. In 1829 he wrote to his cousin Thomas that there were a number of people in his county bearing the name Cravens; that he was called Cravens so generally that he had accepted it as his name; and that letters should be addressed to him accordingly. John Cravens, son of this Samuel Craven, left a large family of whom at least eight lived in Indiana.

A short time after his arrival in the western country Thomas Craven purchased land in Springfield township, Franklin county, Indiana, and proceeded to carve out a home in the wilderness in the midst of poverty, hardships, and dangers. Part of the money to pay for his land he earned by teaching school. One of these schools was about six miles from his home. Of this he says:

So I provided plenty of wood for fires and left my wife and little child and a little boy about seven years old in an unfinished cabin to make the best of the winter they could, and went to teach school, getting home to see them only once a week. Thus they spent the winter, having their ears often saluted with the nocturnal music of howling wolves. Thus I continued teaching school and laboring alternately, sometimes at home and sometimes abroad, until I succeeded in completing the payments on my land.

During the War of 1812 there was an Indian uprising in his part of the country, and he joined the frontier forces protecting the scattered settlements from massacre. His daughter, Lucinda C. Thompson, who died at Franklin, Indiana, in 1915 at the age of ninety-seven, wrote thus about his services:

He was made a captain in an Indian war that broke out during the War of 1812. He was stationed at a block-house in the southeastern part of this state, Indiana, probably in Decatur county. According to one account this block-house was on Salt Creek, near the road going from Brookville to Greensburg, and its ruins were pointed out as late as 1862. At that block-house was a barrel of whiskey that was popular with all but father. A messenger came from another block-house one day and saw the state of affairs, and returning to his own block-house told his

superior officer that the only man there who did not make free with the whiskey was Thomas Craven. Immediately the superior officer made out a captain's commission and sent it to father—and that was how he became a captain.

A document neatly written and yellow with age reads as follows:

State of Indiana, Franklin County:

To all to whome it may concern Know ye that the Regular Baptist Church on big Cedar Grove has on the 12th day of March, 1825, Licensed Brother Thomas Craven to preach the Gospel where God in his providence may call or send him.

JONATHAN STOUT, Clerk.

From the time he received this authority until his death, preaching was a very important part of the work of Thomas Craven.

In 1826 he moved across the state line and bought a tract of land within two miles of the campus of Miami university at Oxford, Ohio. Here his first dwelling was a cabin made of rough logs, soon replaced by a cabin made of hewn timbers which, in 1834, was replaced by a brick house, which is still in good condition, standing almost upon the site of the cabins.

When he was forty-five years of age he entered Miami university, took the full course, and graduated at the age of fifty, in the class of 1842—thus, at last, gratifying the desire for an education, that he had cherished since boyhood.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a history of Eleutherian college, in the establishment of which Thomas Craven was the prime mover, so a few facts relating thereto must suffice.

The first session of Eleutherian Institute, which developed in 1854 into Eleutherian college, began on Monday, November 27, 1848, with John G. Craven, son of Thomas Craven, as instructor. Fifteen students were in attendance, of whom, the record says, "All will study arithmetic; 3, Latin; 8 or more, English Grammar; 5 or more, geography."

At first the school was held in the old meeting house down near the village sawmill on the Middle Fork, and on the east side of the road going north to the mill.

The circular of the Eleutherian Institute for 1853 announced:

The Eleutherian Institute is pleasantly situated in a very healthy neighborhood, ten miles from Madison, on the Plank Road from Madison to Paris, and four miles south of Dupont, which is on the Railroad from Madison to Indianapolis \* \* \*. Eld. Thomas Craven has donated and deeded to us an elevated and healthful site of six and a half acres of land, on which was a comfortable log house, well, spring and orchard. We have since erected and completed a two story stone building for a boarding house \* \* \*. We are now making preparations for the erection of our main building.

The log house mentioned stood on a direct line between the boarding house and the college, slightly nearer to the boarding house than to the college. For a time it was the home of John G. Craven.

Since the school was an "abolition school", open to all regardless of color, and situated only a few miles from slave territory, it excited the bitter opposition of pro-slavery people, many of whom lived in that part of the state where the school was situated. A planter from Alabama brought his own children with their black mother, all of whom were his slaves, to College Hill to be educated and freed. For their use he built a cottage a little to the east of the present graveyard, and perhaps 600 feet back from the road. Another planter from Mississippi also built a cottage at the same place and for exactly the same purpose. One night, just before the cottages were ready for occupancy, both were set on fire and burned to the ground. It was believed that the incendiaries lived in the neighborhood. This was in 1850. A third house which was to accommodate colored students was burned. Threatening letters were received by those managing the school. Finally the principal of the school and the steward were arrested under the "black laws" of Indiana; and the prospect looked very discouraging.

But the men and women backing the enterprise had intense convictions and high courage, and at last succeeded in overcoming much of the opposition; and the school was a success until the beginning of the Civil war. The catalogue of Eleutherian college for 1856 shows an attendance of 109 students, of whom 18 were colored, and of these ten were born slaves.

The catalogue mentions the plank road from Madison to Paris—think of such a road now—and says:

Our buildings are of stone. The boarding house is 55 by 33 feet, two stories high, divided into fifteen comfortable rooms. The College building is 42 by 65 feet, three stories in front and two back, with a neat belfry and cupola, and when completed will furnish a commodious chapel, rooms for literary societies and recitation rooms sufficient to accommodate 200 or 300 students.

The catalogue for the school year 1857-8 shows an attendance of 112 students; and names the officials of the school as follows:

#### BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Dr. S. Tibbets	Thomas Craven
Seymour Straight	Samuel Tibbets, Jr.
Lemuel Record	Calvin E. Hildreth
John H. Tibbets	T. Milton Craven
B. S. Tuttle	W. R. Collett
Reuben Walker	M. J. Smith
Joshua C. Tibbets, Secretary	
James Nelson, Treasurer	
Thomas Craven, General Agent	

#### FACULTY

John Gill Craven, A. M., President, Professor of Mental and Moral Science.
Metcalf J. Smith, A. M., Professor of Mathemaics and Natural Science.
Judson Smith, Instructor in Languages
Mrs. Harriet L. Smith, Teacher in English Department and German.
Mrs. Lucinda C. Thompson, Teacher in Primary Department.
Ruben Walker, Steward.
Mrs. Sarah Walker, Matron.

In 1857 Thomas Craven and his son made a trip to the east for the purpose of collecting money for an endowment fund for the school, but did not meet with much success. On this trip they visited the old neighborhood in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, where their ancestors had lived for three gen-

erations, namely: Thomas Craven (wife Catherine), who was the father of Peter Craven (wife Mary Oliver), who was the father of Thomas Craven (wife Eleanor Adams), who was the father of the subject of this sketch. The first one of the three just named, Thomas Craven, husband of Catherine, was in all probability the son of the emigrant Craven mentioned at the beginning of this article.

In 1858 Thomas Craven again went east in the hope of raising money for an endowment fund. In a letter from Boston, dated November 19, 1858, he says:

I visited Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison, and met a kind reception from them all. Mr. Garrison will publish whatever I want in the *Liberator*.

In another letter he speaks of receiving a letter of recommendation from Harriet Beecher Stowe and her husband, and of calling on Charles Francis Adams and Josiah Quincy. But the panic of 1857 was on; it was found impossible to secure substantial contributions; and the plan for an endowment fund failed.

In the summer of 1860 Thomas Craven returned home from a preaching trip in Illinois, sick. It was thought that his illness was due to the drinking of impure milk. He died August 21, 1860, and was buried in the graveyard at College Hill. His life exemplified the principles which he often urged upon his children—"An unflinching adherence to truth and justice, regardless of consequences."

The following address is given as characteristic of the man:

#### FAREWELL ADDRESS OF ELDER THOMAS CRAVEN, A. M.

##### BELOVED CHILDREN—

Knowing that the time of my departure is at hand, I leave you these lines as the last testimonials of my love to you all and of my most ardent desire for your present and eternal welfare. Like others who have gone before me, I have passed through the scenes of infancy, childhood, youth and manhood to old age. A few days since (the impressions are still fresh in my memory) I was a little boy indulging myself in the pleasures and amusements of childhood. The kind father and mother who, then in the vigor of life, ministered to my wants and watched over me with care, have long been reposing in the house appointed for all living. A few days later and I was a youth indulging

myself to some extent in the follies and pleasures peculiar to my age. A little farther on and I found myself immersed in the cares and bustle of life—a husband and father. Now in advanced age, I look back on my past life with a mixture of sorrow and joy that I did not improve my time and opportunities better, and with joy and thanksgiving that God was pleased to shield me from many snares and temptations into which others have fallen, and enabled me at an early age to hope and trust in His pardoning love and mercy.

When your mother and I were first united we entered into cares and businesses of life under somewhat unfavorable circumstances in a new and strange part of the country without education, without property and even without friends whom we could rely on for counsel, but the Lord was good and kind to us and we never suffered from the necessities of life.

When we became your parents the interest we felt in your present and eternal welfare we found to be inseparably connected with our own, and hence all our plans and labor and toil and anxiety were to pursue that course which would be most likely to make you useful, respectable and happy, and with the hope of obtaining this most desirable end we denied ourselves of many of the comforts and indulgences of life. In my private devotion one special petition that I often offered up and seemed not to know how to be denied was that whatever might be the lot of any of you in any respects, God would make everyone of you a subject of His saving grace. When I saw everyone of you make a public confession of your faith in Christ, it filled me with joy that I cannot express. I rejoiced in the pleasing hope that God had graciously heard my prayer. Some inconsistency of conduct not very long after the younger part of you became professors filled me with painful reflections lest you might be deceiving yourselves. I fondly hope that your wanderings have been reclaimed, but it can do you no harm to examine yourself with care remembering that the satisfaction of your natures is inseparably connected with the justification of our persons; and if God and holiness is not the controlling principle in your nature, my pretensions to religion are vain. When I compare my family with thousands of others, I have reasons to be thankful. You have generally been obedient, kind and industrious, and your general conduct I approve, and what in this imperfect state could I expect more?

When I look back on my past life I see much to disapprove. I hope if you have seen anything in me that is virtuous you will strive to imitate it and that you will ever profit by my errors—my striving to avoid them. One thing I always endeavored to impress on your minds, and I hope that in the main it was exemplified in my own conduct, viz., an unflinching adherence to truth and justice regardless of consequences. Let this principle be at the foundation of all of your actions, but my irritable temper, my impatience and the improvidence into which I have often been betrayed, avoid with the greatest care. Many of the scenes of your childhood and youth which, no doubt you often review with interest, and which often fill me with delight, are past never to return,

but let not the consideration fill your mind with gloom. We are destined to exist forever, and if united to Christ shortly to bloom in everlasting youth to be connected again in our family, and to engage in exercises more delightful than those past scenes which we review with so much interest.

I have never attained that smooth and kind manner of expression which others have. In this I have probably been faulty, but I think not only your mother and you, but all of my immediate acquaintances will witness for me that whatever I may have been in words, my actions were not unkind. Few, I think, have sympathized more deeply with the suffering than I have done at heart, or been more willing to labor for their relief while the increase of human happiness (when known to me) have always increased my own; but if any of my actions towards any of you have appeared at any time unkind, impute to my mistake with regard to that which I suppose would be for ultimate advantage.

All the counsel which I would wish to give you and which I wish to impress upon your minds with all the interest and affection of a dying father, you may find embraced in the words of the wise man, "Fear God and keep His commandments." Let this precept never be forgotten; let the fear of God always be the principle from which you act; and let his revealed will determine at all times what your actions shall be. Much time spent in meditation, self examination and prayer you will find well spent time.

With regard to your duty to each other as children of the same parents, I hope though somewhat scattered you will strive to keep up a friendly correspondence, having in view as your highest object the spiritual welfare of each other. Although the center of your union which once held you together may be removed, yet do not forget it and cleave to Christ as that center of union which shall never be removed.

Never forget that solemn declaration of Christ himself, "Straight is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life and few there be that find it," because "broad is the way and wide is the gate that leadeth to destruction and many there be that go in there at." While you strive to make yourselves agreeable with all with whom you may associate through life, guard with the greatest caution against that wicked temporizing spirit so common with your day. Let not the cry fanatic prevent you from always bearing an honest and faithful testimony against sin, whatever form it may assume. It is better to please God than to please man. Let love to God and man characterize your actions, and the glory of God and interest of Zion be your continued aim.

In looking back upon my past life I can see nothing ever done by me to rest my hopes upon. The best things I have ever done have been mixed with that which I know God hates, and blessed be His name I hate it myself. I long for and most ardently desire a perfect conformity to the will of God, but my only hope for pardon, for justification, for satisfaction and redemption is in His rich and sovereign mercy founded upon the merits of Jesus Christ. Resting my faith and hope upon Him

alone I hope to leave the world in peace and to experience fullness of joy when I awake in His likeness.

With regard to the little worldly property which I may leave behind me, I have only to say, divide it in an amicable and friendly manner among you, and do not differ among yourselves about it for although it cost your mother and myself much labor, it is not worth disputing about; and consider yourselves not only stewards of that but whatever more you possess for which you one day must give an account.

The riches and honor of the world, its frowns or its smiles seem greatly to diminish as I approach the verge of time, so that I can at least to some extent, adopt the language of the poet as my own:

"Careless myself the dying man  
Of dying man's esteem.  
Happy, O Lord, if Thou approve  
Though all beside condemn."

The smile of the Incarnate is all that I shall need to make me happy in a dying hour; it is all that I shall need to make me rejoice at the judgment bar. Let this be my portion, and I envy not the rich, the noble or the honorable of the earth.

The filial regard which I doubt not you all cherish for your affectionate mother, will lead you to sooth the pillow of her age and sweeten her passage down the steps of time. If ever children were laid under special obligations to a mother, those obligations doubtless rest on you for whom she suffered and toiled by day and night, and whose greatest failure in duty to you as doubtless the effect of a maternal tenderness.

With regards to my earthly remains, I have no doubt but what you will see that they are decently interred, and I desire nothing more; but as it may be useful to some who may pass by my grave where my moldering flesh may rest after my spirit may have passed its flight to God who gave it, to know the faith in which I live and in which I hope to die, I would be pleased that in connection with whatever else you may think proper, you would engrave on my tombstone these lines of Dr. Watts:

"My flesh shall slumber in the ground  
Till the last trumpet's joyful sound;  
Then burst the chains in sweet surprise,  
And in my Savior's image rise.  
O glorious hour! O sweet abode!  
I shall be near and like my God."

Finally, my dear children, farewell. May the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob and of your father, be your God, and make you a blessing on earth, and through the blood of the everlasting covenant, conduct you safely to immortal glory where I hope through the riches of Divine grace, to spend a happy eternity with you all and with your dear mother in the presence of Him who loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood, to whom be glory forever. Amen.

(From the original farewell address loaned by Mrs. E. G. Phillips, of North Madison, Ind.)

# Personal Politics in Indiana 1816-1840

ADAM A. LEONARD

(Continued)

## THE REACTION AND THE RISE OF THE WHIGS

The reign of terror, among office holders, instituted by Jackson had been anticipated by Indiana politicians more than a year before it began. The *Terre Haute Register* feared it, but the *Western Sun and General Advertiser* saw good reason for it. It said in reply to the *Register*:

Certainly there are many offices which cannot have the least bearing on the measures of the general government. But with some offices it is otherwise. As to such, perhaps distinction as to party, might now with propriety be made.<sup>1</sup>

This feeling apparently was general among the followers of Jackson and no doubt the hope of appointment caused them to put forth more energy to secure a victory than otherwise they would. Jackson's declaration in January before he came into office, that

he has never been, and never would be the cause of the least heart burning, but when slander was resorted to, the country ransacked for secret tales and those promulgated to injure the feelings and character of anyone those capable of such conduct ought to be condemned by all high-minded, honest and honorable men,<sup>2</sup>

came as a welcome bit of information to them. The people of the state were made aware of what they were to expect, when in the first month of his administration Jackson dismissed Gen. William Henry Harrison, as minister to Columbia and appointed Thomas P. Moore. The memory of the Battle of Tippecanoe made Harrison a popular hero in the state and his dismissal brought a storm of protest. The *Western Sun*

<sup>1</sup> Feb. 16, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser* Jan. 24, 1829.

and *General Advertiser*<sup>3</sup> regretted the protests and thought that they could never be necessary in a good cause, and were in almost every case to be avoided, and saw in the fact that More had met almost unanimous abuse at the hands of the Adams party, an evidence of his qualifications and merit. The subject continued to be the basis of political controversy throughout the early months of the summer.<sup>4</sup> The new administration was scarcely installed in office until Jackson began to reward the party leaders in the state. Gen. Jonathan McCarty, one of the Jackson electors in 1824, was made superintendent of the national road,<sup>5</sup> while Samuel Judah, who wrote the platform declarations of the Jacksonian convention of 1824 and 1828, was made United States district attorney, vice Charles Dewey who had been removed,<sup>6</sup> and Henry S. Handy, one of Judah's associates on the committee, was made postmaster at Salem instead of Dr. Bradley who had been removed.<sup>7</sup> The *Indiana Palladium* saw better times ahead for editors because of the large numbers of them who were appointed to office.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the year wholesale dismissals from office continued and each dismissal was followed by the appointment of a radical partisan. Partisan postmasters went into office in all towns the size of Vernon, Noblesville, Connersville, and Bloomington.<sup>9</sup> The appointment at Rising Sun caused a bitter local controversy that ran throughout the summer.<sup>10</sup> The list of appointees included Samuel Judah, William Hurst, John D. Wolverton, James P. Drake, Arthur St. Clair, Israel T. Canby, Robert Breckenridge, Samuel Milroy, Jonathan McCarty, William Lewis, and many other prominent partisans.

The policy of removals was met by a universal condemnation by the old Adams and Clay adherents that at once put the Jacksonians on the defensive. This was the first time in their existence that they had had any policy other than one

<sup>3</sup> April 4, 1829.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, May 2, 1829.

<sup>5</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, April 4, 1829.

<sup>6</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, May 8, 1829.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, May 20, 1829.

<sup>8</sup> April 25, 1829.

<sup>9</sup> *Western Sun*, June and July, 1829.

<sup>10</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, July and August numbers, 1829.

<sup>11</sup> *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, April 24, 1830.

(No. 11 is omitted in text.)

of opposition. They regarded themselves as political reformers and attempted to justify the system of removals on the pretext of necessary reform. The *Western Sun* gave the clearest statement of conditions to be found. It said:<sup>12</sup> The various newspapers arrayed in opposition to the administration of General Jackson labored continually to mislead the public respecting those removals from office, which in the progress of that reform which is so essential to the prosperity and duration of our free institutions, the President has been compelled to make; the most inflammatory articles were circulated from one extremity of the union to the other; it was proper that correct information on the subject should be distributed, and proper that the whole business should be presented in its correct light and thenceforth a portion of that paper should be devoted to the subject. This declaration was followed by more than three columns devoted to an attempt to justify the removals. The next week in an editorial, it showed the general character of appointments and the characteristic method used by the ordinary politicians to justify the administration.

Horrible; an eastern editor complains that a certain postmaster has been removed and a shoemaker appointed in his place. It is monstrous in the estimation of the ruffled shirt man that a mechanic should be appointed to office. Only think what an enormity it is that a shoemaker should be appointed postmaster.<sup>13</sup>

The attempt to justfy Jackson continued throughout the year, but apparently they did not satisfy the opposition. The removals continued the next year and the opposition became so strong that William Hendricks found it necessary to explain his position in making appointments.<sup>14</sup> He had always opposed removals and believed them to be the chief cause of all the murmurings against the existing administration, but when he found the offices about to become vacant it was in his judgment his constitutional duty to vote that they should be filled if in all cases names of men of good moral character and qualifications were presented. The opposition to the policy never died out but was finally lost in the bank controversy and later,

<sup>12</sup> June 20, 1829.

<sup>13</sup> June 27, 1829.

<sup>14</sup> *Indiana Republican*, July 15, 1830, also *Western Sun*, July 3, 1830.

furnished one of the breakers upon which the Jacksonian party in the state was wrecked.

The questions of tariff and internal improvements that had been so prominent in the campaign proved to be mere political shadows, cast for the moment to secure votes. The Adams administration turned the question of internal improvements from a national to a state issue. By an act of congress approved March 2, 1827,<sup>15</sup> the nation granted to the state, for the purpose of aiding to build a canal, uniting at navigable points the waters of the Maumee and Wabash rivers a strip of land one half of five sections wide on either side of the canal, and reserving alternate sections to be selected by a land commissioner under direction of the president. This placed the burden of responsibility upon the state, with the nation a mere auxiliary. The interest in internal improvements became greater. The state increased its activity to include not only canals, but turnpikes and railroads. For the next twelve years it continually increased its activity until the state went bankrupt and the system was brought to a sudden standstill in 1839-1840.<sup>16</sup> The tariff question became a dead issue as soon as the election was over, so far as any political or economic effect was concerned. Ratliff Boon, the representative of the First district in congress was severely criticized for voting for a reduction of the sugar tariff.<sup>17</sup>

The fact that he had difficulty in justifying his position shows that O. H. Smith was right in his declaration, noticed elsewhere, that the tariff was understood by few. In fact, it is rather difficult today to understand why the people of the west should be so strongly in favor of a tariff where the effect upon them was so very remote. Had it not been that the Jacksonians needed an issue the tariff would have been almost an unknown thing in the west at this time. When it had served its purpose as a campaign issue it ceased to excite public attention.

The campaign for a second election of Jackson began almost as soon as he was in office. The Jacksonian newspapers expressed unusual satisfaction with his inaugural address. His

<sup>15</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, IV 236.

<sup>16</sup> Logan Esarey, *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana*.

<sup>17</sup> *Western Sun*, Mar. 12, and April 2 and 23, 1831.

administration was barely in good working order when it was announced that Jackson intended paying the public debt and giving the country its first real independence,<sup>18</sup> at the same time the renomination and election of Jackson were predicted.<sup>19</sup>

With this prediction the principles of the Republican party were declared to be: The constitution truly defended; the payment of the national debt; the distribution of the surplus revenue; the requirement of a strict accountability from the subordinate officers of the government. It was rather remarkable that the issues of 1828 should not be noticed. The "Federalist" principles were given us: Internal local improvements at the expense of the nation; indefinite postponement of the payment of the national debt; a breach of the national faith with white citizens of the south to enable us to preserve the national faith with a remnant of uncivilized Indians. The energies of the Jacksonians were exerted to make the administration popular. A black-list of abuses that were committed under Adams but remedied under Jackson was published by the administration papers.<sup>20</sup> Jackson was again likened to Jefferson<sup>21</sup> and the merits of the administration were discussed in open letters signed with fictitious names.

The attempts of the Anti-Jackson forces to discredit the administration began just as early and were just as vigorously prosecuted as were the attempts of the Jackson men to make the administration popular. The Richmond *Enquirer* complained:

Let General Jackson take whatever course he pleases; he may now expect the most extravagant denunciation. War was declared against him on the very threshold and war he will have to the very knife.<sup>22</sup>

The attacks on the spoils system, that began with the removal of General Harrison continued throughout the administration. There was a general feeling that the policy of removals would not continue long. The *Indiana Journal* thought that the practice of proscribing individuals would

<sup>18</sup> *Western Sun*, Aug. 4, 1830

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1830.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 9, 16, 1830.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1830.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1829.

grow odious as time and circumstances developed its true character; and that, unrelenting as the feelings of those were, whose ideas were contracted to the narrow sphere in which they had been accustomed to move they ought nevertheless to expect more candidness and a nearer approach to justice from aspirants of high pretensions elevated to the first place of honor in the government.<sup>23</sup> The *Madison Republican* thought that the Clay folks notwithstanding they were proscribed, so as not to be permitted even to pick the government crumbs, had a chance among the Jackson men.<sup>24</sup> The real concentrated opposition began in the latter half of the year 1831. On November 7 and 8 a convention of National Republicans met in Indianapolis.<sup>25</sup> Their preamble stated that the motive behind the convention was a desire to see the vital interests of domestic industry and internal improvement rescued from their present state of jeopardy and fostered and maintained with unabated zeal. They were especially desirous to witness a correct, honorable and successful administration of the general government. They declared that the captivating promises of retrenchment and reform in which the friends of General Jackson so copiously indulged previous to the last election had not been realized. They charged that the alleged abuses of the former administration had been copied and recopied so often by the present that if their number and magnitude had not destroyed the resemblance they should have been led to imagine that the defects of the administration of Mr. Adams had been selected as the models for that of General Jackson.

Among the examples they pointed out the fact that under the Adams administration one of the prominent subjects of complaint was the appointment of members of congress to office and the choosing of printers favorable to the administration to print the laws; and that foreign representatives were appointed without the sanction of the senate; while under the Jackson administration more members of congress were appointed to office, more partisan editors were given printing contracts than ever before and Jackson had not only

<sup>23</sup> November 5, 1831.

<sup>24</sup> February 2, 1832.

<sup>25</sup> Logansport, *Cass County Times*, November 23, 1831.

appointed officers without consulting the senate, but he had removed from office men who were appointed by a senate strongly favorable to Jackson and during recess in congress he had put into office men whose appointments the senate had refused to ratify while in session. It was charged that during his candidacy he declared for a single term for the president, and even after his election he had sent messages to congress recommending constitutional amendment to that effect, and now he had proven his inconsistency by declaring himself a candidate for a second term. They lamented and deplored the circumstance of cabinet dissolution. They condemned the action of the administration toward Georgia and the Indian troubles as disgraceful to a civilized people. They condemned the attacks of Jackson upon the banking system and finally recommended as a remedy for the evils, the political elevation of Henry Clay. They declared that they had numbers, a common interest, the voice of an immense majority of the people, and every tie of patriotism local and national on their side and that union and concert alone were lacking to insure the triumph of principle.

In their resolutions they declared protective tariff duties to be constitutional, expedient, and necessary to the prosperity and happiness of the people; that liberal encouragement of internal improvements was constitutionally expedient and necessary to the union of the states and the welfare of the people; that Henry Clay was preeminently calculated to redress existing grievances and to sustain the principles of their American system; that the most painful and successful opposition to the present administration could be centered upon him; that they approved of the proposed conventions of National Republicans at Baltimore in the next December and provided for the sending of three delegates.

They also appointed a correspondence committee of one member from each county. This committee was authorized to superintend the general interests of the National Republicans of the state to take such steps from time to time as in their opinion would promote the success of the cause in which they were engaged.

In nominating Clay at this time the Anti-Jackson men of Indiana were merely drifting with the political current in

both parties. The national convention had not yet attained a place in our political system and since the caucus was discredited the state nomination was the most far-reaching method of expressing a preference for a candidate. Clay had more than a year before been nominated by a convention at Hartford, Conn.<sup>26</sup> Jackson had been nominated by the Herkimer convention,<sup>27</sup> by the Alabama house of representatives,<sup>28</sup> by the New York assembly,<sup>29</sup> by the Democratic Republicans in Washington City,<sup>30</sup> and by the citizens of Louisville, Kentucky.<sup>31</sup> Jackson had already announced that if offered the presidency for the second time he would not decline.<sup>32</sup> The Ohio legislature had asked Jackson to be a candidate for a second term and he had answered that he felt it his duty to comply with the wishes of his friends.<sup>33</sup> Such a nomination then meant about the same as an instructed delegation to a modern nominating convention. It gave an indication of the wishes of the people, and gave direction to the work of the national conventions that were to meet later. With this convention of 1831 the political lines were drawn about the personalities of Jackson and Clay.

The only independent faction within the state was the Anti-Masons. They, like most minor parties, were ready to pay their respects to and receive concessions from the one of the larger parties that chanced to be out of favor. The first notice of them that we have in a political sense is copied from the *National Intelligencer* in the *Indiana Journal* of November 2, 1831. It calls them political *regraters*, accuses them of not being Anti-Masons at heart and insists that they are in that party as the road to political advancement. Later in the summer of 1831 they held a meeting in Hanover and appointed a committee composed of James A. Watson, Noble Butler, and Jesse H. Thompson to correspond with Henry Clay and find out his sentiments on the subject of masonry. This committee wrote to Clay under date of September 2, 1831.<sup>34</sup> They

<sup>26</sup> *Western Sun*, Oct. 22, 1830.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1830.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1830.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, June 18, 1831.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, June 25, 1831.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, July 30, 1831.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1831.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1831.

<sup>34</sup> *Western Sun*, Dec. 3, 1831, also *Indiana Journal*, Dec. 3, 1831.

told him that by some it was asserted that he was a mason of the highest order, while by others, it was claimed that he had been a mason but had left the society and was now opposed to it; they were unable to find out the truth of the matter, and as they were soon to vote for presidential electors, and as he was one of the candidates for the presidency they desired from him a frank and candid statement on the subject. Mr. Clay replied under date of October 8, 1831, that the constitution gave the executive no authority to interfere on the subject, therefore it must not be considered, and he would not express his personal opinion until it is shown him how the subject is one that the government must meet.<sup>35</sup> This reply of Clay's, while not in the least favorable to their desires, apparently ended the agitation. In a few weeks the *Indiana Journal*<sup>36</sup> commented that the friends of Mr. Wert (the anti-masonic candidate for president) had concluded to sail under the broad banner of Clay and the constitution. A month before the election the same paper urged the Anti-Masons, in the absence of an electoral ticket of their own to vote for Clay.<sup>37</sup> It had carried the names of Wert and Ellmaker, the Anti-Masonic candidate for president and vice-president upon its list of candidates throughout the year, but dropped them when it appeared that the Anti-Masons would vote for Clay.<sup>38</sup>

The entrance of a financial issue into the campaign of 1832 was quite as abrupt as the entrance of the "judicious tariff" measure. The bank question was scarcely noticed in the newspapers until October, 1831. On the first day of the month the *Western Sun* published a two-column attack on the Bank of the United States, copied from the *Albany Argos*. It showed why the bank should not be rechartered. At the same time the *Indiana Journal* published Jackson's statement:

Sir, I have entered for the next presidential heat upon the principle of opposition to that Bank and I mean that the people shall decide whether they will have General Jackson and no Bank or the Bank and no General Jackson.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Dec. 3, 1831.

<sup>36</sup> Jan. 21, 1832.

<sup>37</sup> Sept. 27, 1832.

<sup>38</sup> October 4, 1832.

<sup>39</sup> October 3, 1831.

No better issue could have been found to attract the voters of Indiana. Their entire experience with a bank had been bad. For a time while Crawford was fostering the banking industries of Indiana he had been popular and banks had been looked upon as the pioneer's friend.<sup>40</sup> With the failure of the banking system the popular esteem for Crawford and the bank turned into hatred and everything associated therewith became obnoxious and to oppose Crawford and the bank was a sure start to public favor. The people had no means of knowing the qualities of the bank except by their meager experience and that having been unfortunate Jackson struck a popular chord with the masses when he declared hostilities on the bank. From the first of October, 1831, throughout the campaign the administration papers kept up a constant attack upon the bank.

Jackson's policy seemed always to be antagonism to existing conditions and rarely constructive. By choosing to make the race upon an opposition to the bank he put his opponents clearly on the defensive. The established opinions concerning the bank made that defense extremely difficult. The first action on the subject by the National Republicans was early in December, 1831, when the legislature by a joint resolution petitioned our senators and representatives in congress to sanction the extension of the unexpired time of the existing charter of the United States Bank with or without amendment.<sup>41</sup>

The National Republicans became just as active in upholding the bank as the Jackson press was in trying to destroy it. Such authorities as Ex-Secretary Crawford,<sup>42</sup> and Secretary McLean<sup>43</sup> were quoted to show the efficiency of the bank while the editorial columns predicted:

Let Congress refuse to recharter the Bank of the United States and compel that institution to collect its debts and the merchants throughout the country to collect theirs and we shall be in all probability left almost without a circulating medium.<sup>44</sup>

Not only did the legislature and the press favor the bank but in the anti-Jackson strongholds the citizens took an active

<sup>40</sup> Logan Esarey, *State Banking in Indiana*, ch. II.

<sup>41</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Dec. 14, 1831.

<sup>42</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Jan. 14, 1832.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1831.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, April 7, 1832.

part in the agitation. The citizens of Marion county sent a memorial to congress requesting the Indiana members to vote for rechartering the bank. When the bank bill came up in congress and both majority and minority committee reports were filed the press on both sides made use of these reports as a basis for their positions on the subject. The claim of the minority report that Jackson's opposition to the bank was because it was opposed to him politically, and had refused to become an agent in his favor when he had attempted to make it such became the basis of an attack that the Jackson men found safer to avoid than to attempt to refute.<sup>45</sup> When Jackson vetoed the bank bill the force of the denunciation for the act fell on Martin Van Buren who was never popular in Indiana. It was charged that Jackson vetoed the bill at the instigation of Van Buren, that Van Buren was living in the executive mansion at the time and that the veto message was written by another person than the one who had written the former messages.<sup>46</sup>

The opposition press claimed that at the time of the veto plans had already been concocted in Indianapolis and rumors were in the field in order to marshal the Jackson forces in the state in favor of the veto.<sup>47</sup> Jackson's act was declared to be the very essence of despotism, the will of a sovereign dictator and the people were called upon to resent such high-handed acts.<sup>48</sup> The friends of the bank, by means of a petition signed by almost three hundred people called a meeting in Indianapolis for Saturday, September 8, 1832, to take into consideration the policy and propriety of that measure.<sup>49</sup> The petition declared that the abolition of the bank would have a tendency to drain the country of money, stop the improvement and blight the prospects of the west, creating great sacrifice and embarrassment. Similar meetings were called for all parts of the state. When the meeting was held the National Republican press claimed that it was the largest public meeting ever held in the country, while the Jacksonian press claimed that it was attended by only a few farmers and

<sup>45</sup> *Indiana Journal*, June 23, 1832.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, July 21, 1832.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, July 28, 1832.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, July 4, 1832.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, August 25, 1832.

mechanics.<sup>50</sup> The Jacksonians also held a mass meeting in Indianapolis to express approval of the veto.<sup>51</sup> The *Indiana Journal* called it "A meeting got up by office holders and office hunters." The orators tried to justify the veto by the fact that Madison vetoed a similar bill in 1811.<sup>52</sup> This was turned into ridicule by the opposition who showed that the bill of 1811 was killed in the senate. Business men were warned to curtail their business and pay their debts.

The strongest argument for the veto was made by Col. Richard M. Johnston who crossed the state on a speaking tour. He was extremely popular in Indiana on account of his activities in Indian troubles, and had been the choice of the state for vice-president.<sup>53</sup> He condemned the bank for taking part in elections and declared that a foreign enemy had just as much right to do so.<sup>54</sup>

The fact that there were to be national conventions in 1832 excited but very little comment in Indiana either favorable or adverse. State sovereignty was an inborn principle with the mass of the people. They did not proclaim it as did their southern brethren but they acted it, and when once their state had determined an issue, that settled it for the citizens of the state. Thus when the National Republican convention in Indianapolis nominated Henry Clay for the presidency he became the candidate of that party so far as Indiana was concerned. When the national convention in Baltimore nominated Clay and Sargent it drew from the National Republican press of the state, only the comment that Clay had been nominated<sup>55</sup> and the statement that Mr. Sargent was the avowed friend of a regular system of efficiently operated banks to equalize and diffuse the profits and blessings of trade.<sup>56</sup> The Jacksonian press subjected the address of the convention to a rather severe criticism but it received nothing like the attention given to a modern party platform.<sup>57</sup>

When Jackson announced that he would make the race for

<sup>50</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Sept. 15, 1832.

<sup>51</sup> September 1, 1832.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, June 7, 1832.

<sup>54</sup> *Western Constellation*, (Covington) June 31, 1836, and Sept. 23, 1832.

<sup>55</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Dec. 24, 1821.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1832.

<sup>57</sup> *Western Sun*, Jan. 21, 28, 1832.

re-election he became at once the recognized candidate in Indiana. Richard M. Johnson was the choice of the Jacksonians as a candidate for the vice-presidency but when the Baltimore convention, in May, nominated Martin Van Buren, Samuel Milroy, one of the Indiana delegates to the convention, assured the convention<sup>58</sup> that the nomination of Martin Van Buren, as a candidate for the vice-presidency had the approbation of the Indiana delegation and would have their cordial support, and that although Richard M. Johnston of Kentucky received their vote, so soon as the will of the majority of the convention was indicated they had been disposed cheerfully to yield their preference, for the favorite son of the west, whose claims to the rewards of his country, they believed to be second to those of none, and to unite with the older states of the union in support of Mr. Van Buren, whom they hesitated not to say, would receive the electoral vote of Indiana in consequence of his nomination by the convention. The opposition, however, were not so ready to acquiesce in the nomination of Van Buren. Before the convention met and when it was apparent that he would be the candidate the opposition papers centered their attack upon him and the "Back Stair Cabinet".<sup>59</sup> After the convention he was attacked for his attitude toward the Cumberland road to which he had been opposed and was called the real candidate for the presidency.<sup>60</sup> His nomination was looked upon as a step in his promotion to the presidency and Jackson was charged with dictating his successor.<sup>61</sup> The Clay central committees in different counties, on the eve of the election, sent out addresses to the people attacking, along with the spoils system and the bank veto, the "Dictator to the American People".<sup>62</sup>

The matter of choosing candidates for presidential electors was not nearly so weighty a matter as in the two previous elections. In the National Republican party the convention of 1831 had determined the course of the campaign and when the regularly constituted convention met in Indianapolis on January 21, 1832, it merely selected Jacob Kuykendall of Knox

<sup>58</sup> *Niles' Register*, May 26, 1832.

<sup>59</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Feb., March, April, 1832.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1832.

<sup>61</sup> *Indiana Republican*, Oct. 4, 1832.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1832.

county, John Hawkins of Fountain county, Samuel Henderson of Marion county, Dennis Pennington of Harrison county, Walter Wilson of Cass county, Stephen Ludlow of Dearborn county and Abel Lomax of Wayne county as candidates for electors and Sylvanus Everts of Union county and John I. Neely of Gibson county as contingent electors.

In addition to this it appointed a committee with Ex-Governor Ray as chairman, to fill any vacancies that might occur in the electoral ticket and to attend to any other business that might be necessary to promote the success of the ticket.<sup>63</sup> Conventions were held in the various counties in November and December, 1831.<sup>64</sup> On December 11, a state convention met in the Presbyterian church in Indianapolis.<sup>65</sup> It selected George Boone of Sullivan county, James Blake of Marion county, Arthur Patterson of Parke county, Marks Crume of Fayette county as candidates for presidential electors, with Thomas Givens of Posey county, A. L. Burnett of Floyd county, W. Armstrong of Dearborn county, and John Ketcham of Monroe county, as contingent electors to be used in the order named. They appointed delegates to the national convention, to be held in Baltimore and provided for vigilance committees and committees of correspondence in the various counties. Provision was made for distributing seven thousand copies of the address and the Democratic editors in the state were requested to insert it in their papers.

The address itself dwelt at length upon the benefits that the western farmers should derive from the commercial treaties that had recently been negotiated with foreign countries. It declared that the tariff was at length beginning to be discussed on the principles of reason and that the "judicious" tariff of Andrew Jackson was then being recognized on all hands as the one which the American people deserved. Jackson was commended for the payment of the national debt, for transferring the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi and his fitness to guard the constitution against any attempt to eliminate any section from the union. The question of internal improvements was entirely omitted. In their resolutions they

<sup>63</sup> *Cass County Times*, Feb. 10, 1832.

<sup>64</sup> *Western Sun*, Oct. 12, 19, 26, and Dec. 3, 1831.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1832; also *Indiana Palladium*, Dec. 31, 1831.

endorsed Jackson, approved the acts of his administration, and declared that in asking for a second term he was not overstepping the precedent of his party. The *Indiana Journal* in commenting upon the large number of delegates said that it reminded one of a play entitled *Much Ado About Nothing*, that its announced purpose was to nominate Jackson electors, but its real purpose was to awe the legislature into measures for the purpose of controlling the senatorial election.<sup>66</sup>

There were many incidents of local or pressing importance during the campaign. Mr. Clay and his two sons passed through Indiana in 1831, visiting Vincennes and Terre Haute. This was an occasion of great enthusiasm in those cities. Mr. Clay, however, refused to commit himself in any manner except to say that great injustice had been done him.<sup>67</sup> Rumors about Jackson being in poor health were circulated and denied throughout the state.<sup>68</sup> The unfortunate controversy involving Mrs. Eaton, at Washington City, filled the columns of the opposition papers for several weeks.<sup>69</sup> The Indianapolis *Democrat* beginning March 3, 1832, headed its candidate list with:

Under his administration: West India trade restored, indemnity for French and Danish spoliations, revenue \$26,000,000, population 13,000,000, national debt extinguished, prosperity at home, respected abroad, democracy triumphant. The tree is known by its fruits.

The popularity of Jackson and the unpopularity of the bank were too much for the opposition and in the November election Jackson carried the state by a vote of more than two to one, 31,522 to 15,462.<sup>70</sup>

In giving an account of the election the *Indiana Republican* declared:

Old Hickory can do no wrong. His popularity can stand anything. Down with Henry Clay. Down with the American system. Down with the Bank. Huzza for British manufactures; Huzza for local banks without capital. Good times are coming. Spurious paper money is coming. Van Buren is coming.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Dec. 3, 1831.

<sup>67</sup> *Indiana Journal*, Oct. 28, 1831.

<sup>68</sup> *Indiana Democrat*, April 21, 1832.

<sup>69</sup> See *Indiana Journal*, beginning Oct. 29, 1831.

<sup>70</sup> E. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, 163.

<sup>71</sup> Nov. 22, 1832.

The agitation did not cease with the election. The trend of politics was scarcely interrupted by the election. The bank question would not down. The opponents of Jackson felt that they were defeated but they immediately began agitation for a state bank. That was the main issue in the state election of 1833. The week before the election the Vincennes *Gazette* declared that before that time they had long speeches on the improvement of navigation, reports of committees, divers bank bills, while little or nothing had been done towards furthering any of those objects; that a majority of the people were in favor of the state bank and that the senators and representatives elect would not dare to trifle with the wishes of their constituents.<sup>72</sup>

When the removal of deposits from the bank came in 1833 the anti-Jackson papers deplored the act, declared that it would add to the financial depression and urged judgment instead of blind partisanship in forming opinions upon the subject.<sup>73</sup> The papers that supported Jackson were commonly called "Collar Presses" whose attack, which the Vincennes *Gazette* called a "compound of political skunk's grease and asafetida," were turned upon the United States bank.

The *Gazette* also declared that it was reported that the Washington *Globe* was about to denounce Mr. Van Buren; that the removal of deposits would be opposed by the Albany *Argos* and that Van's safety fund system was about to blow up all the power vested in the Kitchen cabinet.<sup>74</sup> The fight continued in this manner throughout the year. The fact that the legislature, early next year, established a state bank did not alter the controversy.<sup>75</sup>

The friends of Jackson were equally aggressive in their attempts to justify the removal of deposits. It was shown that Tammany Hall was opposed to the rechartering of the bank. The removal of deposits was defended by articles selected from the press of the entire nation. Open letters were printed in attempts at justification. It was declared that the

<sup>72</sup> July 27, 1833.

<sup>73</sup> Vincennes *Gazette*, Oct. 5, 12, 19, 1833.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1833.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1833.

<sup>76</sup> *Western Sun*, Feb. 15, 1834.

bank had first made war on Jackson in 1824,<sup>77</sup> while the opposing presses were called the "bank bought presses". The Jacksonians diverged from their course long enough late in 1834 to warn the farmers against paper money and land speculation.<sup>78</sup>

Indiana was yet too deep in the period of personal politics to wage a lively political warfare without its centering about some personality. The election of 1832 removed the two foremost political figures from the field, one by giving Jackson the second term of office, the other making Clay's election impossible. The new administration was scarcely in operation until the papers began to discuss the possible candidates for the next election.<sup>79</sup> Richard M. Johnson was the Indiana favorite among the possible Jacksonians and his name was kept before them in the early part of the administration.<sup>80</sup> When it became evident, however, that Jackson was determined to have Van Buren as his successor the agitation in favor of Johnston ceased and the *Western Sun* declared that

never was the character of a public officer so assailed so much denounced, so much vilified as that of the vice president.<sup>81</sup>

It also declared that he was gaining strength from the attacks. When Jackson became fearful for his favorite and recommended "a convention of delegates fresh from the people" to select a candidate for the presidency, it became a recognized fact that Jackson's will would determine the choice. The Indiana Democrats hastened to send a full delegation to the convention.<sup>82</sup> When the convention nominated Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson the results were accepted as a foregone conclusion. There was very little comment in the Jackson press, other than to give the proceedings of the convention,<sup>83</sup> publish the address to the people and place the names of Van Buren and Johnston at the head of the editorial columns as candidates.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, March 1, June 25, Oct. 25, 1834.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1834.

<sup>79</sup> *Vincennes Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1833.

<sup>80</sup> *Western Sun*, April 5, and July 5, 1834.

<sup>81</sup> May 2, 1835.

<sup>82</sup> *Western Sun*, May 23, 1835.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, June 6, 13, 20, 1835.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1834.

Among the opposition no one great leader stood out prominent as Clay had done in 1832. Every section of the country brought forward its favorite son. A convention of citizens nominated Judge John McLean, late in December, 1834.<sup>84</sup> On New Year's day 1835, the Alabama legislature nominated for the presidency Hugh L. White, United States senator from Tennessee, by a vote of 55 to 20. Other names were presented to the Alabama legislature, among them Thomas H. Benton of Missouri and Mr. Cass of Michigan.<sup>85</sup> Toward the close of January, 1835, the Massachusetts legislature nominated Daniel Webster.<sup>86</sup> The Tennessee legislature on October 16, 1835, placed Hugh L. White in nomination.<sup>86</sup> In doing so they declared that their motives were the same as those that had prompted the nomination of Jackson by the same body. One of these was

to restrict the establishment of the practice of electing the President of the United States according to any plan of regular succession among the great functionaries of government.

William Henry Harrison was nominated by anti-masonic state convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in the early part of December. The Whig state convention accepted the Anti-Masonic nomination and Harrison became a candidate of both parties.<sup>87</sup> There was no demand and apparently no attempt on the part of the Whigs of the nation to concentrate their efforts upon any one man. Apparently they wished to be understood to be in the opposition, and thought that by putting forward the local favorite in each section they could secure enough votes to prevent the election of Van Buren and throw the choice upon the house where it would be more easy to unite on the strongest man.

Ratliff Boon threw consternation into the ranks of the Indiana Democrats early in the year 1836 by declaring in his circular letter to his constituents that the Whigs were attempt-

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1835.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1835. Stanwood in his history of the presidency, page 180, says that the Tennessee legislature nominated White in January, but this is evidently a mistake. Stanwood cites no authority and no record of it can be found while *Niles' Register* No. 14, 1835, gives the full proceedings of the meetings. This is materially important as the Democratic convention came between the two dates and the Tennessee action came as a protest against Van Buren and Jackson's dictation.

<sup>86</sup> *Niles' Register*, Dec. 26, 1835.

ing to devolve the presidential election on the House.<sup>88</sup> Throughout the campaign the Democratic papers were filled with editorials, selected articles, open letters and statistics showing the dangers of the election going to the house.<sup>89</sup> The Jacksonians had had one experience in the house and they dreaded another most of all things.

The mere fact that Harrison was a candidate at all made him the choice of the Indiana Whigs. No one could poll so large a Whig vote in Indiana as her first territorial governor and the hero of Tippecanoe. When the Whigs sent out their call for delegates to a state convention it was to select electors to vote for General Harrison.<sup>90</sup> The convention met in the hall of the house of representatives in Indianapolis December 14, 1835.<sup>91</sup> General Marston G. Clark was made president.

Mr. Jenckes of Terre Haute in a bitter speech attacked the "Spoils Party." He declared that the friends of Van Buren were more dishonorable in their party warfare than the American savages; that they fought only for the spoils. Thomas H. Blake of Terre Haute also denounced the "Spoils system". It was proposed to nominate Richard M. Johnston as a candidate for the vice-presidency, but the resolution was voted down and the electors that were chosen were left uninstructed as to their choice of vice-president. A committee of fourteen was chosen to draw up an address to the people and a central committee of sixteen was chosen. There seems to have been very little enthusiasm but rather a sullen, determined opposition to Jackson, Van Buren, the "Spoils System" and the veto.

The Democratic state convention was set for January 8, 1836. A month and a half before the time for the convention meetings had been held in nearly all the counties of the state at which delegates were appointed and instructed to select electors pledged to vote for Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnston.<sup>92</sup> The Knox county convention in its preamble charged the Whigs with running Hugh S. White in the south, Daniel Webster in the north and Harrison in the west for the

<sup>88</sup> *Western Sun*, May 7, 1836.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, May 7, July 2, Aug. 13, 22, and Oct. 1, 1836.

<sup>90</sup> *Western Sun*, Oct. 10, 1835.

<sup>91</sup> See *Indiana Democrat*, Dec. 15, 1835, for full proceedings.

<sup>92</sup> *Western Sun*, Nov. 21, 1825.

purpose of preventng an election by the people.<sup>93</sup> This convention also appointed vigilance committees for the various townships.

When the convention met in Indianapolis Samuel Milroy became temporary chairman.<sup>94</sup> The convention was organized by a committee of five from each congressional district. (The first instance of organization by committee in Indiana). The officers consisted of a president, seven vice presidents and two secretaries. Nathan B. Palmer of Marion became the permanent chairman. In his speech before the convention Palmer regretted the attack upon Van Buren and Johnston and pleaded for harmony in the Democratic ranks. The delegates from each congressional district were given the right to select the candidate for elector from that district, while a committee of five from each congressional district was selected to appoint two senatorial electors. A committee of three delegates from each congressional district was appointed for the purpose of preparing and reporting to the convention a uniform mode of organizing the Democratic Republican party in the state so as to secure concert of action and harmony of feeling among the friends of popular institutions. Provision was made for a central committee of sixteen the majority of whom should live in or near Indianapolis. By a separate resolution the convention deprecated the election of a president by Congress as "an effort of the few to rule the many." In addition to the state's central committee the committee of three members from each congressional district recommended the appointment of congressional committees of five persons from each district within the state and county committees of six persons living as near the center of the county as possible. Each of these committees was given the power to fill vacancies within its own ranks. It was the duty of the county committees to appoint vigilance committees in the several townships in each county. These vigilance committees were to make a roll of all the Democratic voters within each township and then the county committees were to apportion delegates among the several townships in the various counties, and call a county convention in each county at a time designated by

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1835.

<sup>94</sup> *Indiana Democrat*, Jan. 12, 1836, for full proceedings.

the county committee. These conventions were to choose candidates for county office. The various vigilance committees were instructed to report the actual strength of the political parties in each township as soon as the results of the April elections (township) were known. Thus the convention system was applied to the counties through a necessity for concerted action upon a national question rather than a process of gradual growth from the state convention downward.

The address of the convention was more featureless than any previous address. It filled twelve full newspaper columns and spent its energies in condemning the Whigs, praising Van Buren and Johnston and condemning the criminal and libelous attacks upon them.<sup>95</sup>

When the candidates were once selected the campaigns became largely one of personalities in Indiana. The *Western Sun* published biographies of both Van Buren and Johnston.<sup>96</sup> Van Buren and Harrison were compared by the presses on both sides of the question. The Jacksonian press insisted that Van Buren had been the object of severe persecutions.<sup>97</sup> While the Whig papers likened the two men to a hero and a political grimalkin.<sup>98</sup> Van Buren was charged with being a Catholic.<sup>99</sup> Open letters filled with questions addressed to Van Buren were printed in the papers.<sup>100</sup> These personal attacks were of much the same nature as those aimed previously at Jackson but in Jackson's case they only tended to increase his popularity. Van Buren however, was unpopular from the beginning and the personal attacks increased this unpopularity daily.

The Whigs from the beginning had a more hopeful outlook. On Thursday May 21, 1835, General Harrison came to Vincennes for a visit. On Monday May 25, the citizens gave him a public dinner.<sup>101</sup> Senators Hendricks and Tipton were reported to be in favor of Harrison. The report was not

<sup>95</sup> *Western Sun*, March 19, 1831.

<sup>96</sup> July and August, 1835.

<sup>97</sup> *Western Constellation*, (Covington) Oct. 23, 1836.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* April 23, 1836.

<sup>99</sup> Logansport *Canal Telegraph*, June 11, 1836; also *Western Sun*, Aug. 27, 1836.

<sup>100</sup> Logansport *Canal Telegraph*, Nov. 5, 1836.

<sup>101</sup> *Western Sun*, May 30, 1835.

verified but it had the effect of attracting many voters to their candidate.<sup>102</sup> On Saturday, November 7, 1835 twelve to fifteen hundred people met at the Battle Grounds to celebrate the Battle of Tippecanoe.<sup>103</sup> This was perhaps the greatest political mass meeting held in the state up to that time. By February, 1836, the Whigs were able to say that no cause had ever gained so rapidly as theirs had done in the central part of the state.<sup>104</sup>

The Democratic abuse of the Whigs was perhaps the most bitter ever heaped upon a political party in the state. As early as June, 1836, they were called "that compound of various opinions and dissimilar interest."<sup>105</sup> A little later in the year an open letter by "Democrat" was copied by the press of the state. It declared that

that piebald no-party composed of the shreds of all parties was unceasing in its cry against office holders. And that the moment that one of these immaculate self-constituted whigs became a candidate for office you heard him exclaim against office holders and endeavor to create an unjust prejudice against the best and purest men in the country as though they were not citizens of the same country and entitled to all the rights and immunities of free men.<sup>106</sup>

The *Western Sun* called them

a loose compound of Hartford convention Federalism and Royal Arch Masonry<sup>107</sup>

and declared that treachery was their favorite instrument, their nature and vocation and that their only cement was a sympathy of hatred to every man of purer principles than themselves. A year before the election Democratic presses predicted that Harrison would lose everything in Indiana,<sup>108</sup> while the vigilance committee made an attempt to show that Harrison was not qualified for the presidency.<sup>109</sup> In an attempt to keep the opposition votes divided the Democratic press kept the names of Harrison, Webster and White on their

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1835.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1835.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1836.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, June 24, 1835.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1835.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1835.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1835.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1835.

lists of opposition candidates.<sup>110</sup> The *Democratic Union* of New Albany in a statement to the people said that the country was divided into two great political parties, one exerting its influence and energies to perpetuate and continue in existence a course of policy which had been proven the most wholesome and salutary in a republican government—the other seeking to gain the ascendancy and place the affairs of the nation in the hands of an aristocracy.<sup>111</sup>

In the later months of the campaign the canvas became very largely a still hunt campaign with the burden of work falling upon the committees. Abuse of the opposite party almost entirely ceased. Among the last hints to be found of the bitter vindictives being an open letter by Ratliff Boon on the subject of "Collar dogs". He said:

I am a party man and one of the true collar dogs and am proud to wear the collar of a man like Andrew Jackson whose collar is the collar of democracy. The charge that the Jackson party are prescriptive in their feelings and actions is utterly without foundation or fact. The Democratic state of Indiana has given her vote on three several occasions to the present chief magistrate and yet there has never been a Jackson majority in the state legislature nor has she ever elected a Jacksonian governor.<sup>112</sup>

The press became more and more persuasive in its methods. The open letter by "One of the People" giving the following twelve reasons why Van Buren should be elected is typical of the press comment. Its reasons are:

His moral character; (2) his natural genius; (3) his study of law and political science; (4) his long experience; (5) he was a lifelong Democrat; (6) he enjoyed the confidence of the Democrats of his own state; (7) he had the confidence of the Democrats of the nation; (8) he did not enjoy the confidence of the Whigs; (9) he never would enjoy the confidence of nullification, Hartford convention, Blue Light, and Boston Federalism in any root or branch; (10) he sprang from the humble walks of life (11) his natural temperament fitted him for the position. (12) He was an ardent supporter of the Union.<sup>113</sup>

A few weeks before the election, September 14, the Whig central committee issued a "Circular to the free men of Indi-

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1835.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, April 2, 1836.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, June 11, 1836.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1836.

ana."<sup>114</sup> It reduces the issue to a contest between Harrison and Van Buren. It pointed out that Harrison was a son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It then traced his career as an aide de camp to Wayne; as representative from the Northwest territory; as territorial governor of Indiana; as the commander of Tippecanoe; and at the Thames; and declared that he was never defeated when commanding in person. It reviewed his civil service in the Ohio legislature in both houses of congress and as minister to Columbia. Opposed to this it traced the career of Martin Van Buren. It showed him entering public life by supporting De Witt Clinton, a Federalist, for the presidency in 1812, in opposition to James Madison; while his next act was to oppose Clinton when he advocated the splendid system of internal improvements which had so much enriched the state of New York. It declared that as a member of congress he had done nothing worthy of attention. He was charged with being the instigator of the caucus that nominated Crawford; with intriguing with Adams for an appointment and failing he secured the confidence of Jackson and gained control of his administration. His votes as member of the senate were shown to be against the interests of the west, while a member of the administration he was declared to be responsible for the constant interference with the financial conditions of the country. It then traced the financial policy of the administration and finally drew the conclusion that on one side they had a hero and on the other, "A political grimalkin". It then urged the friends of Harrison to appoint general county committees and committees of vigilance in the townships whose special duty it should be

to urge the voters to the polls and see that each township is amply supplied with tickets.

The question of ticket supply was one of the questions to which the vigilance committee had to give very strict attention. There was no regular ballot and no regular source of supply. The manipulation of the ticket was the most common means of corruption and the vigilance committees were expected to outwit all attempts of their opponent. Ten days

<sup>114</sup> *Weekly Messenger*, Oct. 29, 1836.

before the election,<sup>115</sup> the *Western Sun* gave notice that Democratic Republican tickets could be secured at its office, and two days before the election it warned the Democratic voters "to look well to the tickets which they put in", for frauds had been committed at elections by palming off upon an individual a different ticket from what he intended to vote.<sup>116</sup> It declared that the cause must indeed be bad which required such an artifice to support it, and that no honorable man, no matter to what party he belonged, would disgrace himself by so dishonorable an act. It admonished the Democrats that if they could not beat their opponents honorably to put up with defeat, but to let no event prevent their attending the polls.

Election day fell upon the 25th anniversary of the Battle of Tippecanoe and the Whigs over the state celebrated it by giving a free barbecue at the voting places in memory of that event.<sup>117</sup>

The local elections had continually shown that the voters of the state who had three times given majorities to Jackson were not so much partisans as they were hero worshipers. This election was no exception. The difference lay in the fact that the hero was of the opposite party. When the election returns were all in Harrison had a total vote of forty-one thousand two hundred and eighty-one to only thirty-two thousand four hundred seventy-six for Van Buren.<sup>118</sup> The change of majorities was remarkable. In 1832 the Democrats had carried the state by a ratio of about 2 to 1. Now they had lost it by a ratio of 5 to 4. The spell of the name of Jackson was broken and the Democrats in the state were put on the defensive and have been so rather constantly ever since.

The question of distribution of revenue by the federal government was the chief topic discussed by the newspapers from the election of 1836 until June, 1837. In June the State bank suspended specie payment.<sup>119</sup> Immediately the topic for political discussion became the surplus distribution and "paper banks". In July the discussion was confined generally to local conditions. Early in August notice was issued to the banks

<sup>115</sup> Oct. 27, 1836.

<sup>116</sup> Nov. 5, 1836.

<sup>117</sup> *Western Sun*, Nov. 5, 1836.

<sup>118</sup> Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*.

<sup>119</sup> *Western Sun*, June 17, 1837.

of the state not to receive notes of the late United States bank.<sup>120</sup> From that time on the only political question that was given prominence through the year was the bank question. In all the discussions banks, Whigs and Federalists are the only terms used to designate the Whigs. By October the "Shinplasters" were offered as a relief. The Democratic press bitterly condemned them.<sup>121</sup> By the middle of October the passage of the sub-treasury act turned the course of discussion from the bank to the new financial policy.

The intense suffering brought by the Panic of 1837 aroused both political parties to immediate action. On Wednesday evening December 13, 1837 a large number of Democrats from all parts of the state met informally at the capital building in Indianapolis to

consult together in regard to the present situation of the country and to adopt measures for celebrating in an appropriate manner the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.<sup>122</sup>

In a series of resolutions they denounced the Whigs as Federalists, declared that the Federalists were trying to embarrass the administration; complimented Van Buren on his financial policy; indorsed his land policy; viewed the New York elections as a bank triumph; and declared that county meetings should be held to express views on the state of the country and reorganize the party. This meeting appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people of the state. The address was prepared by Robert Dale Owen as chairman of the committee and on February 10, 1838 representatives of the party met in the hall of the house of representatives to listen to the address. In an extremely lengthy discourse he discussed the Bank question, denounced the Whigs as Federalists; denounced the Adams election; and praised Jackson and Van Buren. The address was adopted without a dissenting voice.<sup>123</sup>

An assembly of Democrats of Clark county at Charlestown on January 28, 1838, declared that to arrest the Whig invasions of their ranks it would be necessary to meet their per-

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1837.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1837.

<sup>122</sup> *Western Sun*, Jan. 13, 1838.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1838.

petual opposition in a prompt and energetic manner, and that the necessity for organization and harmonious energetic action was obvious to all.<sup>124</sup> In June the *Western Sun* admonished its readers to let no man who has ever been a Democrat accept favors from a Federalist. He might join their hosts and carry with him the flag of his hosts and his reception would be to have his pockets picked and himself stripped and when there was nothing more to plunder they would drive him out of the camp.<sup>125</sup> By October the Democratic papers began to show a more hopeful attitude in giving results of various victories in State elections for the Democrats.

The Whigs met in convention in Indianapolis January 22, 1838. Thomas H. Blake, the temporary chairman in his speech, condemned the policies of the government for the past nine years.<sup>126</sup> He declared that the currency of the country was everywhere deranged; banks had been compelled to stop specie payment; private enterprise was crushed, commerce was ruined; and a gloom like the pall of death still rested upon the great cities of the East and West and finally he declared that the prosperity and glory of the nation were going down together. He admonished the delegates to the convention that the eyes of the other states were upon them, the sooner it was understood the better, that Indiana would maintain her stand under the Whig banner and if the great battle was lost reproach should not fall on her sons. In its resolutions the convention condemned the general conduct of government for the past nine years. They denounced the sub-treasury plan as an attempt to draw public attention from the "immoralities of the administration". The office holders were condemned as a set of leeches who were sucking the life blood from the treasury. The coming election was pronounced a contest over principle. A single term for the president was called for and the election of the president by the house was deprecated. William H. Harrison was recommended to a proposed convention of Whigs as a candidate for the presidency, although the convention expressed confidence in Henry Clay. Honest Democrats were viewed as brethren of the

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1838.

<sup>125</sup> June 30, 1838.

<sup>126</sup> *Logansport Telegraph*, Feb. 3, 1838.

same family, honestly differing from them in opinion and were offered the right hand of fellowship. The Van Buren administration received special condemnation in a second set of resolutions offered by Governor Noah Noble. Immediately before adjourning the convention appointed a controlling committee of twelve persons and provided for a correspondence committee of one person in each county.

After these two conventions there was very little discussion of the national question by the press of the state. This year was the breathing spell in which the forces of the two parties prepared for the coming campaign of 1840. The date for the Whig national convention was set for December, 1839.<sup>127</sup> This started an agitation concerning the possible candidates which were to run the next year. William H. Harrison was the choice of the majority of the party but Henry Clay had his loyal supporters.

Clay was condemned by the Democratic press as a Federalist and the reproach of the bank and the Hartford convention was heaped upon him.<sup>128</sup> He was attacked for allowing himself to be brought up to make a speech in a carriage. This and the fact that he had allowed a crown of roses to be placed upon his head "by the wives of the Aristocracy" were held up as positive proof of his aristocratic tendencies.<sup>129</sup> Mr. Clay on September 14, 1839, wrote O. H. Smith of Indiana to ascertain the conditions in the state.<sup>130</sup> He asked if the result of the last local election was due to the use of his name; if it would have resulted otherwise if his name had not been used; if the contest was between himself and Van Buren, who would likely receive the vote of the state; if there was any other name that would likely receive a larger vote in the state than his; if there was any reason to believe that the late elections in the state were influenced by public money; and if the state intended sending delegates to the Whig national convention at Harrisburg in December. In reply Mr. Smith declared that the system of internal improvements was responsible for the results of the late elections, and that the name of neither of the candidates had much to do with the

<sup>127</sup> *Western Sun*, June 2, 1838.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* Aug. 31, 1839.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* Sept. 7, 1839.

<sup>130</sup> O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 251.

Whig cause; he feared that the name of Clay would not be strong enough to stem the tide that was running against them; but assured him that no name would be so well calculated as his to rally the original Whigs; that he could not rely upon the old Jacksonians who had joined them under the Harrison banners who still retained a deep rooted prejudice against him on account of the first contest between Adams and Jackson; and that a contest between Van Buren and him would require desperate efforts on the part of the Whigs to insure success. The party opposed to them seemed to be united and moved by one common impulse; that although their watchword, Democracy, was understood by few, it was still powerful with the masses; they must meet the issue made for them with the false cry of Federalism ringing in their ears. He thought that Garrison could without a doubt get a majority in the state against Van Buren. He also declared that the State would send delegates to the national convention.<sup>131</sup> When the convention met it nominated William Henry Garrison and John Tyler as its candidates. Five months later May 15, 1840, the Democratic convention at Baltimore nominated Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnston, and the campaign took a definite direction.

The campaign began early. In May the *Western Sun* started its fight for votes by drawing comparisons between the two parties, then and at the time of Jefferson. It pointed out that the principles laid down by Jefferson were equal and exact justice to all men; state's rights must be supported; preservation of the constitutional vigor of the federal government; right of election; decision by majorities; economy in public expense; honest payment of debts; encouragement of agriculture and commerce; diffusion of information; and freedom of religion. The Democratic principles in 1840 were declared to be: equality of men; government for the happiness of all; the voice of the people; the conservation of the government; acquiescence in the decision of the majority; no special favors to bankers or merchants; banks are to be founded on substance and not shadow; separation of the government from the banks; banking interests should not be partisan; opposi-

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid* 152.

tion to reestablishment of the bank.<sup>132</sup> The Federalist principles under John Adams were: Class distinction (gentlemen and simple men); inequality of both; distinction of rich and poor. The Federalists' principles in 1840 were: an ignorant people were not to be trusted; free suffrage was a curse to any people; people cannot govern by reason; single aim of the party was self-preservation; money can be used in elections; government should be founded on property; the farmer has nothing to do with legislation; the farmer is an imposing demagogue.

Even before this the *Sun* had made an attack on Harrison by declaring that he was in the hands of a committee that governed his course, and that nothing was more despisable than a candidate that would not declare his position.<sup>133</sup> The same paper complained that the hard times were favorable to the Whig cause and that they were laboring to maintain the depression for political effect.<sup>134</sup> On June 13, the *Sun* declared that the chief supporters of Harrison were the chief enemies of Jackson. Two weeks later (June 27) it tried to prove that Harrison was a favorite of the Adamses and on July 18, it declared that Harrison was a "black Cockade Federalist" and that he had often been seen wearing the black cockade of Federalism. The charge of Federalism was flaunted at the Whigs in every issue of every Democratic paper during the remainder of the campaign.

The Madison *Courier* was perhaps the most aggressive of the Democratic papers. On July 25, it declared that the policy of the Whigs was that the general make no further declaration of his principles for the public eye, while occupying the position he then held. This statement, signed "General Harrison's Body Guard and Conscience Keepers", headed the editorial column during the remainder of the campaign. Such expressions as "Blue light British Tories",<sup>135</sup> "log cabin, hard cider, coon skin, blue-light politicians", "Blue-light, Federal, abolition, British Whig partisans,"<sup>136</sup> are common in its col-

<sup>132</sup> May 9, 1840.

<sup>133</sup> May 9, 1840.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, April 25, 1846.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, June 13, 1846.

<sup>135</sup> July 25, 1840.

<sup>136</sup> Aug. 1, 1840.

umns through the year. It declared that many Whigs were shut out of the log cabins by the resemblance they bore to other grog shops.<sup>137</sup> It accused them of buying votes with liquor at the August elections.<sup>138</sup> It accused them of threatening war if they were not successful at the election.<sup>139</sup> It declared that the strongest liner of the Federalist party was British gold.<sup>140</sup>

This spirit of denunciation was accompanied by a very feeble attempt to be optimistic concerning their own prospects and an attempt to arouse party spirit. A well-known Irishman by the name of Grattan published an open letter addressed to Irishmen.<sup>141</sup> He declared it to be the duty of every man of Irish birth or origin to rally under the Democratic banner. He appealed to them in the name of Montgomery, and Emmet. Letters of Jackson were published declaring that the hard cider cry was humbuggery, and that it would soon react, also making the charge of Federalism against Harrison.<sup>142</sup> Peter Cartwright, one of the most famous early Indiana Methodist preachers published an open letter denying that he had forsaken the party,<sup>143</sup> while every Jackson man was forced to deny similar rumors.<sup>144</sup> Letters of Jackson, Clay, Van Buren and Jefferson were published throughout the campaign in an attempt to awaken the dead spirit of the party.

The denunciation of their opponents and an appeal to the former glory of the party appeared to have but little effect and in August the Democrats added an innovation to their party organization by forming in practically every township in the state a "Democratic Association" or club. The assembly in Vincennes that formed the association also appointed a committee of vigilance, a committee of distribution and a committee of correspondence, and provided for weekly meetings of the association.<sup>145</sup> From this time on the papers are filled

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Aug. 3, 1840.

<sup>139</sup> Aug. 29, 1840.

<sup>140</sup> Sept. 19, 1840.

<sup>141</sup> *Western Sun*, June 20, 1840.

<sup>142</sup> *Western Sun*, July 18, 1840.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1840.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1840.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1840.

with accounts of the organization of new "associations" and the proceedings of their meetings.

One of the strong characters in the campaign on either side was Robert Dale Owen, the son of the founder of New Harmony. In the early part of the campaign he devoted his energies to writing, and his articles were copied by the press of the state. In his first article<sup>146</sup> he held that the majority of the Whigs were honest in their views and that the leaders might be honest, but their tactics were to keep their principles in the dark, and resort to the methods of Indian warfare and were determined to choose the field of battle. In his second article<sup>147</sup> he submitted a long line of evidence to prove his point. In a third article<sup>148</sup> he analyzed the hard cider cry. He declared that Christians were called upon to exhibit their enthusiasm in a political strife by drinking hard cider made hard by hard brandy for the glory of General Harrison. He declared that young men were getting their first lessons in drunkenness at the Whig meetings. He analyzed "Harrison's poverty" and his "military fame" and called abuse a "political blunder". Owen continued this series of high-minded discussions until the last of August when he gave them up to take the stump. All traveling had to be done on horseback, so the speaker generally spoke on every second day and traveled on the intervening days. The fact that Owen spoke at Spencer October 3, Greencastle October 5, Terre Haute October 7, Bowling Green October 8, and Vincennes October 10,<sup>149</sup> shows how busy the speakers were. They spoke under the auspices of the Democratic association. The entire state was canvassed by an unusually strong set of speakers, including Edward A. Hannegan, James Whitcomb, Marinus Willett, Findley Bigger, James Lockhart, Amos Lane, Thomas Smith, Thomas L. Smith, John Law, Joseph A. Wright, John G. Davis, Paris G. Dunning, Willis A. Gorman, Delana K. Eckles, Alvin P. Hovey, Andrew Kennedy, Marks Crume, William Watt, Jeremiah Smith, Henry Secrest, John Spencer, Elisha Long, William Rockwell, Nathaniel West, Nathan B. Palmer, Gen. James Drake, John Carr, William W.

<sup>146</sup> *Western Sun*, June 27, 1840.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, July 4, 1840.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*, July 11, 1840.

<sup>149</sup> *Western Sun*, Oct. 3, 1840.

Wick, William J. Brown, Henry Brady, James B. Ray, Joseph Holman, Samuel E. Perkins, Ross Smiley, Wilson Thompson and others.<sup>150</sup> The speeches were usually very long and each speaker was usually followed by a man of the opposite side who was expected to refute his argument. Robert Dale Owen's speech at Vincennes October 10, was two hours in length and he was followed immediately by Samuel Judah. The Whigs were not satisfied with this and on October 13, Mr. Ewing spoke to them for four hours and the *Western Sun* thought that they were not yet satisfied.<sup>151</sup> Richard M. Johnston, the candidate for vice-president, also crossed the state on his speaking tour. He spoke at Connersville on October 12, Indianapolis on the 14th, at Crawfordsville on the 16th, Lafayette on the 17th, Roachdale on the 20th, Terre Haute on the 21st, Carlisle on the 23rd, Vincennes on the 24th, New Harmony on the 26th, Evansville on the 28th, Rockport on the 29th, Troy on the 30th, and Rome on the 31st.<sup>152</sup> At Vincennes he was met ten miles north of the city by three hundred horsemen. At the edge of the city he was met by a crowd on foot and horseback and the entire gathering paraded the streets led by the Vincennes band.<sup>153</sup>

While those efforts of the Democrats were full of enthusiasm and the crowds were largely conscientious Democrats, there seemed to be lacking that spontaneous outburst of feeling that was found among the same people twelve years before and which now characterized their opponents. The Whigs had been true to their declaration in 1838 that they would regard the Democrats as erring brethren and would extend to them the right hand of fellowship. They did not abuse, but deplored the fact that the hard times had been brought on by the mal-administration of Jackson and Van Buren and by irresponsible officeholders. They depended upon enthusiasm generated at public speakings and barbecues to carry them to victory. They began their campaign by a celebration of Garrison's victory at Tippecanoe late in May. The call for the celebration went out through the Whig press of the state in large head lines and popular appeals to the masses. It said:

<sup>150</sup> O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 350.

<sup>151</sup> Oct. 10, 1840.

<sup>152</sup> *Western Sun*, Oct. 3, 1840.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1840.

## TIPPECANOE

BE AT THE BATTLE GROUND

(Picture of coach and four)

“Every man to his tent, Oh,” Indiana;

TO THE (picture of log cabin) BOYS OF CENTRAL INDIANA

Do you know that the greatest and most universal gathering of the People—of Farmers, Mechanics, Laborers—and all classes of community, who are in favor of (Eagle holding streamers bearing names of Harrison and Tyler) are to meet upon the

## BATTLEFIELD OF TIPPECANOE ON THE 29TH OF MAY

to welcome the Old Soldiers once more to the scene of glory, where everlasting benefits were wrought in blood for Indiana?

Do you know that hundreds of old and young, the poor and poorer (none can say rich now) are already providing their “bread and meat and camp equipage” for the campaign? Do you know that *one thing* which few have in these subtreasury times, will not be needed? Every man with his wagon and horses or ox team, horse back or with his knapsack, with his week’s provision be up and ready to march to Tippecanoe. Do you know that extensive preparations are making by the “Pioneers” around the old campaign ground, to afford better accommodation to those who cannot come prepared than the brave soldiers found who fought upon the bloody ground in 1811? Do you know that a larger army of men will be there than ever met together in the State of Indiana? Do you not feel anxious to form a part of that great mass of your friends who, with their shouts, their flags, and their cannon, will be there to engage in the political conflict of the brave Old Hero, who never lost a battle, and who stayed the Indian’s tomahawk on that ground where so many of his friends will once more enlist under the banner of him who is beloved by his old soldiers, and despised by the blood suckers of the country, because he is literally one of us—one of the people—one who tills his own land—one possessed of true Democratic principles—equal rights and equal justice to all men— one who, when about parting with the brave little band who fought with him on the battle ground of Tippecanoe told them that “Notwithstanding he wore the dignified title of ‘General’, and also ‘Governor’ that he lived like themselves, in an humble log cabin, and, said he, while the heartfelt tears rolled down his cheeks, ‘If you ever come to Vincennes, you will always find a plate and knife and fork at my table, and never find the door shut and string of the latch pulled in.’ Such is the man, such the day, and the occasion for which we meet together upon the Tippecanoe Battle Field. Who will stay home on that day?

Whigs who ha’ with Heroes bled,  
Whigs whom “Van” has never led,  
Meet us on their glory bed,  
And strike for victory.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Semi-Weekly Indianapolis *Journal*, May 5, 1840.

An immense throng representing every county in the state, also delegates from Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky and Tennessee, met on the Battle Ground on May 29th for the celebration. The procession was led by a brig, the "Constitution" from Michigan City,<sup>155</sup> full rigged, its pennant inscribed "Harrison and Tyler" floating in the breeze. It was drawn by six white horses. This was followed by canoes, log cabins, banners, bands, hunter's camps, bodies of soldiers, and every device or emblem that appealed to pioneer life. The bands played martial music while the banners bore such devices: "No change can be for the worse"; "Indiana will cherish in manhood the defender of her infancy"; "The Hoosier boys are always ready to do their own voting as well as their own fighting"; "Log cabin freedom is better than White House slavery". The Fountain county banner bore the inscription:

I'm working for you  
Said the hard cider to  
Old Tippecanoe.

The Illinois delegation bore a banner with the inscription:

No blood hounds for soldiers  
Fewer promises and more performances  
We go for General Harrison  
Huzza for the tip of all tips, "Old Tippecanoe."  
Rags are better than nakedness  
Can't take 7 cents a day and lodge in a hay mow  
You can't come it over the suckers.

The Michigan delegation bore a banner inscribed: "Michigan will remember her deliverer" and another with the device "Michigan she can, she will". The Cambridge City banner represented Van Buren running down hill in front of a barrel of hard cider, that had rolled out of a log cabin at the top of the hill. He was crying, "Stop that barrell." After a magnificent parade, speeches, fireworks, and much revelry, the delegates started home still celebrating. The *Western Sun* sarcastically remarked that

On Sunday last the delegates from the great Whig show at the Battle-ground reached this place. (Vincennes) and our peaceful and

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, June 9, 1840 for details.

moral community was treated by them with martial music, firing of cannon and loud huzzas.<sup>156</sup>

This was the beginning of a series of barbecues held in all parts of the state. There was not a town of any size but held its barbecue. The one at Vincennes is described as follows:

After the most stirring appeals, large hand bills, hundreds of invitations to persons at a distance to attend they passed through the streets carrying flags of various devices, log cabins, coon skins, buck horns, live coons, etc. The marshals conducted the procession with a great deal of dignity and all acquitted themselves no doubt to their own satisfaction. The speaker dwelt largely with the abuses of appointments.<sup>157</sup>

The *Madison Courier* in describing the barbecue at that place said:

Of log cabins, hard cider, emblems of the most grotesque description, badges, medals, Harrison handkerchiefs, ram's horns, red and blue noses, and other unmeaning etceteras, there was no lack<sup>158</sup>

One of the songs was:

Go it then for cooney  
Cooney in a cage  
Go it with a yell, boys;  
Go it with a rage.

The *Courier* estimated that a thousand dollars was spent for handkerchiefs, scarfs, badges, and other such emblems. The crowds usually gave themselves up to heavy drinking and all the Democratic papers deplored the "fights and other fashionable exercises" that had been so lately introduced by hard cider enthusiasm.

Senator Oliver H. Smith was the chairman of the Whig central committee of the state and brought under his charge the best Whig orators of the day. Smith made appointments for speakers and meetings all over the state and spoke almost every day and night himself. Among his speakers were: Joseph G. Marshal, George G. Dunn, Albert S. White, William Herod, William Graham, Caleb B. Smith, Richard W. Thom-

<sup>156</sup> June 6, 1840.

<sup>157</sup> *Western Sun*, Oct. 10, 1840.

<sup>158</sup> Oct. 10, 1840.

son, Henry S. Lane, Othniel S. Clarke, John Beard, Newton Claypool, Samuel C. Sample Jonathan A. Linton, John D. Greaves, Douglas Maguire, Edward McGaughey, Thomas J. Evans, Hugh Oneil, Martin M. Ray, Schuyler Colfax, Thomas D. Walpole, William McKee Dunn, Daniel D. Pratt, Henry Walker, John Vawter, Milton Stapp, John Dumont, Stephen C. Stephens, Jeremiah Sullivan, Joseph C. Eggleston, William S. Coffin, William T. Otto, William G. Ewing, David Kilgore, David P. Holloway, Samuel W. Parker, Henry P. Thornton, James Collins, James Rariden, James H. Cravens, Joseph L. White, Jonathan McCarty, John Ewing, George H. Dunn, John Richter, Samuel Judah, James Perry, John Yaryan, Lewis Burk, P. A. Hackleman, Abner T. Ellis, Randall Crawford, Thomas H. Blake, Elisha P. Huntington, Thomas Dowling, Judge DeBruler, Charles Dewey, John W. Payne, Conrad Baker and others.<sup>159</sup> The campaign closed with a torchlight procession in Indianapolis;<sup>160</sup> one of the first of its kind in the state. Both parties took part. O. H. Smith spoke for the Whigs and James Whitcomb for the Democrats. The parties vied with each other in the brilliancy of their declaration. The bands played continuously while the whole city was lighted up with rockets, and the streets were filled with bonfires. Whitcomb occupied a stand on the north side of Washington street and Smith one on the south side. The sound of music singing and the explosion of rockets, and the clamor of the crowd rose above their voices and they quit the stand and mingled with the crowd until near midnight. This ended the most fiercely waged campaign that the state had yet seen and perhaps that it has ever seen. Harrison carried the state by a vote of 65,276 to 51,695 for Van Buren. The people here again showed that tendency to independent voting that has always made Indiana a doubtful state and has sometimes piled up majorities for a popular candidate of one party and at the very next election buried the less popular candidate of the same party under an avalanche of votes.

(To be continued)

<sup>159</sup> O. H. Smith, *Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 350.

<sup>160</sup> O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 351.

# The Ohio River, Its Influence on the Development of Indiana

By LEE BURNS, Indianapolis

From the time of the first appearance of white men west of the Allegheny mountains, the Ohio river became an important highway to the vast inland territory now known as the central west. The military expeditions of George Rogers Clark, and Mad Anthony Wayne, whose conquests gained and held this great territory for the United States, were made possible by the broad waterway that carried them to the heart of the disputed country. And down this stream, flowing ever westward, came as in an endless pageant, the rafts, flat boats and keel boats of the pioneer settlers.

For a distance by river of three hundred and eighty miles the Ohio forms the southern boundary of what is now the state of Indiana, and it was, in the days when this territory was being settled and developed, the most important means of transportation from the east.

Reference to the traffic on the river in those days is made in the journal of Andrew Elliott, commissioner of the United States for determining the boundary between this country and Florida, then a possession of his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. Mr. Elliott left Pittsburgh in the fall of 1796 with two keel boats and two flat bottomed or Kentucky boats. The beauty of the river and the fertility of the country filled him with delight. He described the trade then carried on by river to New Orleans and noted the important fact that while the settlers possessed ample raw materials, and could export their produce with ease, their imports were attended with great difficulty, risk, and expense. This difficulty was caused by the immense labor necessary to work a boat upstream, and it continued as a serious handicap to the growing traffic of the western country until the days of the steamboat.

Yet in the early days an amazing volume of transportation was carried on the river in flat boats and keel boats. The flat boat, a type that seems to have originated in the Ohio val-

ley, was the usual boat of the emigrants. It had a flat bottom and was square at each end. The sides were enclosed with heavy planks and over all was a flat roof or deck. Such a boat was in fact a floating enclosure that could be used as a cabin, fortress, barn and store house and was well suited for the task of transporting the family of an emigrant, together with his live stock, household goods, tools and other equipment. The sides of the earlier boats were heavily reinforced, as a protection from rifle fire from the Indians who lurked along the shore. They floated with the current and were steered from the end with a long oar, or sweep, fixed on a pivot.

Boats intended for use on the Ohio were often known as "Kentucky Boats," while more substantial boats, known as "New Orleans Boats" were built for the longer journey down the Mississippi. The sawed timber of which these boats were made became of great value as they went on down the river where there were no saw mills, and many a pioneer built his cabin from the lumber of the boat that had brought him and his family to their new location.

A river guide called the *Navigator*, printed in 1810, gave the following information for those coming to the West:

The principal places where families and merchants stop to prepare for embarkation, are Brownsville (or Redstone), Pittsburgh, and Wheeling. There are people in each of those places that make it their business to accommodate strangers descending the river, with every article they may want, either in provisions, farming utensils, boats or other crafts, at a cheap and reasonable price.

Their boats are generally made well and strong, the price of which varies according to their make, length, and strength. One convenient for a family, between 30 and 40 feet in length, costs from 1 dollar to 1 dollar and 25 cents per foot, making perhaps 35 dollars for a comfortable family boat, well boarded up on the sides, and roofed to within seven or eight feet of the bow. Exclusive of this expense, is the price of a cable, pump, and fire place, perhaps ten dollars.

It was by flat-boats that the produce of the settlers was floated to market. Hundreds of them were loaded every year and sent down to the great port of New Orleans. Lawrenceburg was the shipping point for much of the farm produce of southeastern Indiana. From Aurora, with its excellent harbor and landing, many boats left each season. And on down the river, from each settlement on the Indiana and Kentucky

shores, and from the streams running back into the interior, flat boats, whose total numbered many hundreds, left each spring for the South. Prices everywhere were governed by the New Orleans market.

With the growth of traffic on the river a number of companies were organized to write insurance on the boats and their cargoes. Among those in Indiana were the Madison Insurance Company organized in 1831 and the Rising Sun Insurance Company organized a few years later. The first policy of the Rising Sun Company was on a flat boat about to start on a trading voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi. The cargo, which consisted of onions, apples, potatoes, cider and whiskey, was insured until safe arrival at New Orleans. At Jeffersonville a company insured boats while going over the falls.

After reaching New Orleans and selling boats and cargoes, the boatmen would generally return overland by the Natchez trail, some on horseback, others afoot, traveling usually in groups to defend themselves against bandits who infested the way.

There was danger from outlaws on the river as well as on land. Bands of pirates operated on the lower Ohio. A cavern known as Cave-in-Rock on the Illinois shore was headquarters for a gang of fifty or more under the leadership of a bandit named Wilson. Their favorite plan was to capture a flat-boat laden for the lower river, murder the crew and take the boat on down to market themselves. For a number of years these operations went on unsuspected, as the disappearance of a boat and crew could easily be accounted for by the dangers of navigation. Finally, their methods being discovered, and a price set on Wilson's head, he was killed by one of his own men to gain the reward. It is said on good authority that about sixty skeletons were found in a room of his cavern, which gave evidence of the extent of this career of betrayal and murder.

For traffic up the river, keel boats and barges were used. The keel boat was pointed at each end, and had narrow platforms on which the boatmen moved along when they worked the boat upstream with poles. Oars, sails, poles and the tow line, or cordelle, were all used in a trip upstream, one method

being abandoned for another as conditions changed at each bend in the river.

In his recollections of these days, published in the *Western Pilot*, Samuel Cummings says:

The occupation of a boatman was more calculated to destroy the constitution, and to shorten life than any other business. In ascending the river, it was a continued series of toil, rendered more irksome by the snail-like rate at which they moved.

Notwithstanding this, the boatman's life had charms as irresistible as those presented by the stage. Sons abandoned the comfortable farms of their fathers, and apprentices fled from the service of their masters. There was a captivation in the idea of "Going down the river"; and the youthful boatman who had "pushed a keel" from New Orleans felt all the pride of a young merchant, after his first voyage to a foreign port.

On board the boats thus navigated, merchants entrusted valuable cargoes, without insurance, and with no other guarantee than the receipt of the steersman. The confidence so reposed was seldom abused.

A line of keel boats ran from Cincinnati to Marietta as early as 1794 and about fifteen years later a writer spoke of the line from Cincinnati to New Orleans, whose boats returned with cargoes of "sugar, coffee, rice, hides, wines and rums, dry goods of various kinds, and cotton from Natchez."

These boats had a capacity of about 700 barrels of freight. A crew of nine men could conduct one down to New Orleans in about five weeks, but the return trip took three or four months and required about thirty men.

Among other articles mentioned in the records of imports brought up the river in those early days were shipments of Spanish wool, indigo, log wood and quicksilver. Truly a list suggestive of high adventure and romance.

And the record of shipments down the river is of equal interest. The books of the pilot at the Ohio falls show that 197 flat boats, and fourteen keel boats descended in the two months before the close of navigation in January, 1811. Beside the usual cargoes of flour, pork, corn, tobacco and other farm produce, these boats carried to the expectant southland no less than twenty-seven hundred barrels of whiskey, wine and brandy, eight hundred and seventeen hams of venison, and over fourteen thousand tame fowls. Among other considerable items of their cargoes were slaves, ginseng, pine and

cherry plank, ironware, cabinet work and seneca oil. This seneca oil was the crude oil found floating on oil creek, a tributary of the Allegheny. It was thought to be efficient in the treatment of rheumatism.

In addition to the boats trading with the gulf ports there were many loaded at the headwaters of the Ohio, with dry goods, hardware and other articles to supply the settlements in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. These floating general stores, usually in charge of one or two men, who were proprietors, clerks and crew, did a prosperous business. At the end of the voyage, which took about three months, the traders would sell their boat and walk back, with enlarged experience in the needs of the growing river towns, to start another venture.

No chronicle of the river at that time would be complete without a reference to the ocean rigged vessels launched on the upper Ohio. Perhaps the first was the brig, St. Clair, built at Marietta, which cleared in May, 1800, with a cargo of flour and pork for Havanna. The brig, Dean, launched in 1806, made a voyage from Pittsburgh to the Mediterranean. At Leghorn the customs officer objected to her papers on the ground that no such port as Pittsburgh was in existence.

At least a dozen other ships, brigs, and schooners built on the upper river are listed by Zadok Cramer in his quaint and interesting river guide. For a time it was thought that a great shipbuilding industry would be developed, but the falls at Louisville proved a most discouraging obstacle, and after several ships had been sunk at that point the industry was abandoned.

It had not been expected that these sailing vessels would be used for river traffic. That was confined to flat boats and keel boats, and because of the tedious trip upstream their cargoes were limited to the most essential things.

New settlers were coming to this fertile western country and opening farms that produced abundantly, but they were forced to live in a comparatively primitive way because of the difficulty in exchanging their surplus produce in the markets of the south and east. It has always been true that the development of a country is limited by the capacity of its transportation system and had not these difficulties been overcome, the Ohio valley would still be handicapped in the same way as are

Siberia and the interior of China. Such was the situation at the time the development of the steamboat made possible an adequate method for exchanging their commodities in the markets of the world.

It was in 1807 that Robert Fulton, and his patron and co-worker, Robert Livingston, after many years of experiment, launched the Clermont, a boat that successfully made the trip up the Hudson from New York to Albany, propelled by the power of steam. For having built a boat that would attain a speed of four miles an hour under its own power, the legislature of New York granted them the exclusive right to steam navigation on the waters of that state for a period of twenty years.

They soon planned to take a more complete advantage of their remarkable achievement. To extend their monopoly to the great rivers of the west, the Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company was formed, and under the direction of Nicholas Roosevelt, one of the incorporators, work was begun at Pittsburgh on a steamer, the New Orleans. This, the first steamboat on the western rivers, was launched in 1811. It had a capacity of one hundred tons and was equipped with two masts, it being thought that the use of sails would be necessary at times.

Naturally enough there had been much doubt as to whether such boats would be successful. The editor of the *Navigator* made the following noncommittal comment:

There is now on foot a new mode of navigating our Western waters, particularly the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. This is with boats propelled by the power of steam.

It will be a novel sight, and as pleasing as novel to see a huge boat working her way up the windings of the Ohio, without the appearance of sail, oar, pole, or any manual labor about her—moving within the secrets of her own wonderful mechanism, and propelled by power undiscoverable.

In the fall of 1811 the new steamboat made the trip down the river from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, her time being fourteen days. It is easy to understand the excitement and enthusiasm with which the boat was received. Word of her coming spread ahead, and at every town and settlement the whole population turned out to welcome the wonderful craft.

But the New Orleans stayed on the lower Mississippi and it was several years before men were to see "a boat, working her way up the Ohio by her own wonderful mechanism."

Within the next few years several other boats were built. One, the Enterprise, built by D. French at Brownsville, Pa., conveyed a cargo of military supplies from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in the winter of 1814 and was used by General Jackson in military service for several months. The following spring she returned to Louisville, this being the first time that a steamboat had made the return trip. However, this was during a time of high water when the boat could travel through cut-offs, and over inundated fields where there was little current.

It was not until the appearance of the steamboat Washington, in 1816, that it was demonstrated that boats could regularly ascend these rivers under their own power. This boat, built at Wheeling, under the direction of Captain Henry Shreve, contained many improvements over the earlier boats. After she had made two trips from the falls at Louisville to New Orleans and return, all doubts as to the possibility of steam navigation on the western rivers were dispelled. Fulton and Livingston who claimed a monopoly on this use of steam attached the Washington at New Orleans, but their claim was resisted by Captain Shreve, and the court gave a decision in his favor.

Thus began a new epoch in the development of the central west which, with the growth of the steamboat industry, at last had an adequate means of transportation. The steamboat was carried to its highest degree of perfection on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and was a means of making the country west of the Allegheny mountains one of the most prosperous regions in the world.

The new state of Indiana had a full share in this prosperity. Ship yards were started, wharfs and landing places were built, wood yards were established, and for over half a century the steamboat was a dominating influence in the life of the river counties.

In 1817 the editor of the *Emigrant's Guide* said that "the southern and much more valuable part of Indiana" was settling with much rapidity. There was, indeed, a remarkable

increase in population, which from 24,000 in 1810 grew to nearly three hundred and fifty thousand by 1830.

Writing of traffic on the river in the thirties Mr. W. G. Lyford reported over three hundred and fifty steamboats in service. Most of these were freight boats, but nearly all would carry passengers. The fare for cabin passengers, including state room and meals, was then about three cents a mile. Deck passengers, furnishing their own provisions, and helping load wood for fuel, paid about one-fourth this amount. A galley, or cook stove, was provided on the lower deck for their use.

A striking evidence of the immense river traffic at that time is given by Mr. A. B. Hulbert in his book, *The Ohio River*, in which we find that by 1834 the tonnage of the boats on the Ohio and Mississippi was larger than that of the British Empire, or of the entire Atlantic seaboard. This was only eighteen years after it had been demonstrated that a steamboat could ascend the rivers, and shows how amazing had been the growth of the western country when given an adequate way of carrying its merchandise.

In 1818 the United States mail line, built the General Pike, the first boat exclusively for passengers. This boat, which ran from Cincinnati to Louisville, stopped at all Indiana towns along the way. The first trip was made in one day and seven hours, which was thought to be, and was, a remarkable achievement. Forty years later boats of the same company, most of them built at Madison, made the trip daily in about nine hours. Among them were the Jacob Strader and Telegraph Number Three, which were among the finest boats ever built and did much to sustain the reputation of the boats of the western waters as being the best in the world. The description, floating palaces, as applied to such boats, was well deserved.

Because of the rapids at Louisville all boats were forced to stop there, except in times of high water, and transfer cargo and passengers. A canal was built around the rapids but as the boats increased in size it could not be used by the larger ones. To serve the lower river this same company placed a fleet in the trade between Louisville and St. Louis. It included such splendid boats as the Northerner, Southerner, Ben Franklin, and Highflyer. There may have been boys in these days,

in the river towns of southern Indiana, who did not know the name of the president of their country, but it is doubtful if there were any who did not know who was captain of each mail boat. Boats of this type were built for speed and ran on a regular schedule, in order to attract the passenger traffic and to secure the profitable government contract for carrying the mails. They took only the lighter forms of freight.

There were fifteen or twenty important shipping points on the Indiana shore listed in the river directories of that time, including such prosperous towns as Lawrenceburg, Aurora, Risi. g Sun, Madison, Jeffersonville, New Albany, Leavenworth, Rockport, Evansville and Mt. Vernon. Madison was then the most important commercial center in Indiana and continued to be for many years.

With so many boats on the river accidents were inevitable. There seem to have been more on the Mississippi, in proportion to the volume of traffic, than on the Ohio, and many a man ran on the river for years without seeing an accident of consequence, yet the list on either river is a lamentable one. Fire, collision, treacherous snags, and careless handling of the boilers were the usual causes.

At midnight in May, 1825, the steamboat Mechanic, that had been chartered to take General Lafayette and a distinguished company up the Ohio, struck a snag a few miles from Cannelton, Indiana, and soon sank. There was no loss of life, but in the confusion, General Lafayette, was thrown into the river and came near drowning. He was rescued by a deck hand, but lost most of his personal effects, including his carriage, clothing and eight thousand dollars in money.

The steamer Moselle, one of the finest boats on the river, was blown up near Cincinnati in April, 1838, less than a month after having been put into service. Her officers, eager to establish a reputation for the boat as the swiftest in America, had grown reckless in handling the boilers, with the result that all four exploded at once. Fragments of the boat were found on both the Ohio and Kentucky shores. Eighty-one persons were known to have been killed, and fifty-five were missing. Another disaster, never to be forgotten in southern Indiana, was caused by the collision of the States and the America, packets in the line from Madison to Cincinnati. The States

was cut nearly in two and soon was in flames. Many citizens of Madison lost their lives, the total death list being over one hundred. The Redstone, another Madison and Cincinnati packet, was destroyed by a boiler explosion, while making a trip against time, and seventeen lives were lost.

The ship yards on the Indiana shore were among the best known on the river. There were large yards at Madison, Jeffersonville and New Albany, and a number of boats were built at other places. Jeffersonville, at the head of the falls, and with one of the best harbors on the river, was an excellent location. The first steamer built there was the United States, launched in 1819. She had two separate engines, built in England, was capable of carrying three thousand bales of cotton, and was described at the time as "the finest merchant steamboat in the universe." In his history of Clark county Mr. Lewis C. Baird has a complete and valuable account of the different ship yards at Jeffersonville, the greatest of which were the Howard yards. During a period of sixty years over six hundred vessels were launched by these famous builders, a record not equalled by any plant on the western rivers. The James Howard, a side wheel steam boat, launched by them in October, 1870, was the largest inland steamboat ever built. This splendid boat was 318 feet in length, 54 feet beam and 3400 tonnage. It ran in the New Orleans and St. Louis trade and represented the highest type of construction ever attained in steamboat work.

Many of the finest boats on the river were built at Madison. In an interesting paper on "Steamboat Building at Madison," Mr. A. S. Chapman has recorded the rise and fall of the industry there. At one time hundreds of men were employed and the reputation of the yards for good design and good workmanship was nation wide.

The ship yards at New Albany were among the best in the country. Excellent timber for boat building was to be had there and the business developed rapidly. From 1830 to 1865 over three hundred steamers were launched at the New Albany yards, including such famous boats as the Eclipse, the Sultana, the Robert E. Lee, and many others, that for speed, comfort and luxury were the peers of any boats afloat. A writer in the New Albany *Ledger-Standard* in 1877, reviewing the

prosperity brought to the town in earlier days by the boat building industry, estimated that at one time over two thousand men were employed by the ship yards, foundries, smiths and chandlers directly engaged in building and outfitting steamboats at that point.

A special type of boat was developed by the western builders for use in the shallow waters of the Ohio and Mississippi. The earlier boats were fashioned after ocean going models, but in later types the hold was abolished, the machinery put on deck and the bottom made flat. Such a boat could travel in three or four feet of water which was of great advantage in the western rivers where shallow water was to be found during many months of each year.

There was intense rivalry between the different lines of boats in regard both to speed and to the service given to passengers. On the best boats excellent meals were served, the staterooms were well furnished and cared for, and everything possible was done to attract travellers from opposition lines. A record especially prized was for the time up stream from New Orleans to the rapids at Louisville and New Albany, a distance of nearly fifteen hundred miles. In 1817 the Washington had required twenty-five days to make the trip. Twenty years later the trip had been made in one-fourth the time, and by 1851 a record of four days and twenty-three hours was held by the Belle Key.

Then came the Eclipse, a boat built at the New Albany yards, well designed, beautifully finished and described by old river men, who remember her with affection, as the finest boat that ever floated on the western rivers.

On her first trip, in May, 1852, she lowered the record of the Belle Key by five hours, but the following May there appeared on the river the A. L. Shotwell, also built at New Albany, with the avowed purpose of capturing and holding the record.

The Shotwell made the trip up stream amidst great excitement. At each bend in the rivers she was greeted with shouts of encouragement, bands playing as she steamed by, and everywhere her time was checked and rechecked to settle the thousands of wagers that had been made. She lowered the record by seven hours and forty minutes.

Then in the same month the Eclipse came up the river, with her Master, E. T. Sturgeon, bent on regaining the laurels for his beloved boat. Never had there been such excitement. At one point she would be ahead of the time of the Shotwell, at another a few minutes behind. Every shift of the wind, every change in the current, affected her speed. Vicksburg, Helena, Memphis, Cairo, Evansville, were passed in succession with the result still in doubt, but when she sped by New Albany, and turned for the landing at Louisville, a record of four days, nine hours, and thirty minutes had been established.

And, says a writer of that day, when we take into consideration the low water, swift current, and other obstacles she met with, we may safely set her down as the fastest boat in the world.

For years afterwards, a traveller would see signs posted at many places along the way giving the time of the Shotwell and the Eclipse to that point. Perhaps some of these signs are still standing, silent witnesses of the intense rivalry in the days when the steamboat was queen of the western rivers.

An old steamboat man, writing of racing on the river at that time says:

It was the habit of boats going up stream when they needed fuel to take in tow a barge loaded with wood or coal. If another boat was coming up behind that was thought to be willing to race, all the crew, including the cabin boys, would turn in and help unload the barge so that it could be set adrift at the earliest moment. The crew would also pile the fuel near the firemen to help keep the fires roaring hot.

In emergencies when fuel was short it was not unusual for freight to be used for such purpose. When a boat had bacon as freight it was regarded as excellent fuel and in a race was used without hesitancy.

With the development of the railways the steamboat trade began to decline, yet for years a large amount of business continued to be carried on the river. As late as 1873 the records of the wharfmaster at Evansville showed over twenty-five hundred steamboat arrivals at that port during the year, while sixty or more were registered as being owned or controlled there.

An interesting feature on the river front at Evansville was the large dry dock, kept constantly busy repairing boats that came from as far as Pittsburgh and New Orleans. It was

managed by E. C. Murray, who had designed and constructed the Confederate ram, Merrimac.

Now that a network of railways is spread over the central west, the steamboat traffic has dwindled away, perhaps never to return. Towboats, with strings of coal barges go up and down the river, and little steamers ply on uncertain schedules between settlements that are not reached by rail. But the glory of the old times is gone.

The present trend of transportation away from the river is shown by the census of 1920, which reports that Indianapolis, an inland town, has grown more rapidly in the preceding ten years than Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville or any other large town on the river.

Many attempts have been made to revive the steamboat business. Transportation by water is cheaper than by rail and when the series of dams and locks now being constructed by the Government, is completed, a uniform depth of nine feet of water will be maintained throughout the year, an ideal condition hardly dreamed of in those busy years when boats were delayed for weeks by low water.

But a great advantage of the railways, with which the boats cannot compete, is their ability to run a switch to every warehouse and factory and load and unload at their door; while freight taken by boat must be reloaded several times, an operation that causes delay and expense.

Whatever the future commercial use of the Ohio river may be, its great value as an artery of transportation, in the days when the prosperous central west was being transformed from the wilderness, can never be overlooked.

The charm of the river will always remain. Flowing with a gentle current, between high wooded banks, it has ever been regarded as one of the most beautiful of streams. The earliest French explorers called it the beautiful river, and its appeal is as great today as when, two and a half centuries ago, they first beheld it.

The views from the hills at Madison, or at Hanover, New Albany, Rockport and other such points on the Indiana shore are of unsurpassed beauty, and many a traveller who has seen the great valley from these heights has wondered that such scenes are so little known. Once known they are never to be forgotten.

## A Pioneer Engineer—Lazarus B. Wilson

By ALMA WINSTON WILSON, Indianapolis

As so much is being written regarding the highways and good roads throughout the country, it may be of interest to some to read of the difficulties and trials endured by civil engineers engaged in the Internal Improvement System of 1836-37-38 in Indiana, when my father (Lazarus B. Wilson), who not only marched through the wilderness of Indiana to Ft. Dearborn as one of the "Bloody Three Hundred" to fight Black Hawk, but was surveyor on the first railroad that connected the Ohio river with Lake Michigan. He was a resident engineer of the central part of the Wabash and Erie Canal, also for the Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville road, New Albany and Vincennes road, also the road from La Fountain creek to Georgetown. Not many surveyors in this twentieth century walk 19 miles a day.

The following, addressed to My Dear Wife, are extracts from some of his letters, and also, from some state records :

NEW ALBANY, April 25, 1838.

I promised to write on every Sabbath day, but can not wait for their arrival. I left Indianapolis on Thursday about 3 P. M. and reached Bloomington on Friday evening, when I had an interview with Dr. D. H. Maxwell, and I also met with the young doctor who visited us at Logansport. I put up with Mr. Orchard. Bloomington is a beautiful town, or rather it is handsomely situated in a country of rich land. Many of the town lots are well improved with fruit and ornamental trees, and from all appearances I should suppose that fruit will be abundant there this year.

I left it on Saturday morning and reached Salem on Sunday morning by breakfast time. Salem is not as handsome as Bloomington, but it is nevertheless a pretty place, and has many well improved residences made beautiful by pine and cedar trees which decorate some very indifferent dwelling houses. We remained there about three hours and a half and intended to go to meeting, but it happened to be Mr. Rawson's day for preaching in the country and there was no one to supply his place. They have a fine brick Presbyterian Church.

We reached this place on Monday morning to breakfast, and commenced work yesterday. Tomorrow, we shall move into camp, and I shall not be in again before Sunday or Saturday evening when I expect to receive a letter from you. You must not fail to write to me every

four or five days, for the *distance is so great* that a letter is a long time on the way. I see nothing here to admire except the Ohio River and some good buildings, and expect to locate in Salem.

Dr. Maxwell came in this evening and has been telling me some tales about himself and your father.

I have not yet called at the postoffice, for I have no doubt that a letter must be at least five days on the road from Logansport, but will call this morning.

NEW ALBANY, May 5, 1838.

I rode with Mr. [Jesse] Williams about thirty-five miles on Tuesday, most of the time in the rain. I rode again Wednesday, about twenty-five miles, also on Thursday about twelve miles and then walked until I had to go to camp to dry myself. Was out all day yesterday and today until the rain compelled us about two o'clock to go in to dry. And after five o'clock rode eight miles into town; and now after nine o'clock, am writing to her from whom, with her children, I expect to derive all the happiness which the world has in store for me. I believe I mentioned in my last, of having heard Mr. Anderson address a temperance meeting. He is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in this place, and with his family, boards at the house I stop at. I heard him preach Sunday last, twice, and am much pleased with him. He is a very sensible man, and reasons very logically. He and Mr. McKennon are fellow students, or have been such. He expects to be in Indianapolis in about a month.

I wish I could fix upon the day, when I could see you all in health at Logansport, but can not now. The country I have to locate the road through is very much broken with ravines and requires a great many examinations. I hope, however, that I shall be able to do so in eight or ten days, for if the coming week should prove favorable I shall be able to do so. I shall probably be twenty miles from this place on next Sunday. You will therefore direct your next letter to Salem.

PROVIDENCE, CLARK COUNTY, IND., May 13, 1836.

It will be four weeks tomorrow since I last saw you with all the inmates of the home in good health. How soon I may again enjoy that pleasure I can not with any degree of certainty speak, but I confidently expect to start from New Albany on my return on Tuesday, the 29th, and expect to be at home on the first Saturday in June.

This little village is situated on a stream called the muddy fork of Silver Creek. I don't know whether it has an existence on the map or not, but by reference to it you will discover the township, and ranges, numbered upon it, and this is the southwest corner of Clarke County in township one S. of the base line (the line dividing the township N. and S. and range S. E.). When you receive this letter, write and direct to New Albany, at which place I must be on the 28th, and on the following day I expect to turn my good steed toward the north, but before that period arrives you may expect to hear again.

## CAMP ON BLUE RIVER, May 20, 1838

My last was written at Providence a week since but as I found it necessary to send to New Albany next day for medicine, it was mailed at the latter place. I expected the evening after writing to you to have a shake of the ague and therefore sent on Monday for a dose of calomel and jalap which had so good an effect that I was enabled to be with the party every day except Tuesday and by sending to New Albany I was enabled to get your letter which like the preceding one, had no date, but was no doubt written at Logansport about the 7th instant.

(I will take them home and you can date them at your leisure.)

But good news requires no date, and comes as welcome on the gale, as on the soft breathing of the Aeolian harp, time and place can alone soften each note and add to the joy imparted by pleasing intelligence.

I sent to Salem yesterday expecting to get a letter but was disappointed. We are now in camp within four miles of the town, but have about ten miles to run before we shall be able to reach it. Still I think we shall get there, by Saturday evening. On Monday I must be in New Albany, and Tuesday I anticipate starting home and before starting on my return to this country, I expect to have the road from Crawfordsville to Lafayette, to locate, which will require about one month. I shall send this to Providence by the mail carrier, to mail at that place this morning. I am still writing in camp on Blue River.

## CAMP, MARTIN COUNTY, Sept. 20, 1838.

When I left you on Monday I found upon going to the Tavern a Mr. Bird from the Madison Road who was on his way to Paoli. And for the sake of company I waited almost an hour for him, and in consequence did not reach Paoli until after 7 o'clock. I reached Camp about 10 o'clock next day and that evening had a view of the great eclipse of the Sun from Sam's Creek Hill, near Lost River.

The following are from the state records:

On July 4, 1835, the opening of the Wabash and Erie Canal from Ft. Wayne to Huntington, Indiana, was celebrated. Boats went to Huntington for the guests, and returned to Ft. Wayne where there were great festivities, and before a great crowd. The Declaration of Independence was read by Lazarus B. Wilson, and an oration delivered by Hon. Hugh McCullough.

Also July 4, 1843, witnessed the completion of the Wabash and Erie Canal from Toledo, Ohio, to Lafayette, Indiana. The event was celebrated by an immense procession in which the veterans of Wars participated. Gen. Lewis Cass delivered the oration. (And among the soldiers of 1812 whose names are given, is that of Lazarus B. Wilson.)

SALEM, INDIANA, April 30, 1848

I have been running lines in the vicinity of Salem for several days past to gratify some of its citizens who are not pleased with the best

routes heretofore run, and have not completed the location further than Pekin about ten miles from this place. I expect Mr. James Brooks up on Tuesday when I hope the company will determine the point of entrance to this great Salem, so as to enable me to complete the location within the next week. So soon as the location shall be made and I can leave the line, I shall make a survey commencing at Salem and run in the direction of Bedford some twenty or twenty-five miles.

SALEM, IND., June 18, 1848

I left New Albany on Monday about ten o'clock and walked up to Providence nineteen miles, stopping on the way to dine and lay off work for contractors. On Tuesday evening I found a Mulberry tree with an abundance of delicious fruit on it, of which I ate so heartily as to become quite sick on Wednesday and Thursday and was lying around when James came. Of that, however, I have recovered by living on bacon and beans and cherry tarts.

In the summer of 1848 Mr. Wilson accompanied Mr. James Brooks [of Bedford] to Boston, Mass., in the interest of the Internal Improvement System [Monon Railroad].

PHILADELPHIA, PA., August 17, 1848

MY DEAR WIFE:

I wrote you from Wheeling and Clear Spring but two days ago. I left Clear Spring yesterday morning after an early breakfast and crossed the Cove Mountains to Hancock and the Potomac River, by stage to the depot for that place before the cars got down from Cumberland at 10:30 A. M. We dined at Harpers Ferry and about seven miles below that place we passed the upward train in which I saw Dick Thompson but recognized no other person. We reached Baltimore at 6 P. M. and by 8 were off in the cars again for this place which we reached at 3 A. M. this morning, traveling 220 miles by cars, 16 by stage and 1½ in a restaurant, crossing the Susquehanna River about 11 o'clock last night traveling through parts of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware and Pennsylvania in one day or rather all the distance in 23 hours.

I am sorry that I did not take daylight to come from Baltimore to this place, between the former place and Havre De Grace. The road crossed the arms of the Chesapeake Bay, the first about 7 miles from Baltimore is called the Back River and is from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile wide. The second is the Gunpowder 1½ miles wide and the last is Buck Creek about 1 mile wide. The last two have draw bridges in them to let the boats pass. The road is about 5 or 6 feet above the water laid upon trestles, placed about 6 ft. apart. At Havre De Grace the baggage car was run from the railroad to the top of a steam boat and the passengers got out and walked into the steamboat which was well lighted up, and looked like a large saloon in which all kinds of refreshments were set out, so that all who desired could eat and drink for their cash, anything

they desired. In about fifteen minutes we were on the opposite side of the Susquehanna River where we again took the cars, and between 12 and 1 o'clock passed through Wilmington, Delaware.

We had a beautiful moon-light night which enabled us to see the small craft sailing on the Bay and in the river, and the two light-houses in the distance. The night air was also pleasant, for although I had on my summer coat we had all the car windows open and it was not too cool.

We crossed the Schuylkill River on a viaduct at the edge of the city.

Philadelphia is a beautiful city. We stopped at the American Hotel in Chestnut Street which runs from the Delaware about 2 miles south of the Schuylkill. The old U. S. Bank—Congress Hall, and the old State House, in which the glorious Declaration of Independence was signed are on Chestnut Street, directly opposite the American Hotel. The whole two miles is built up, and some of the houses must have cost fifty thousand dollars.

On Saturday morning we expect to go to New York and on Sunday cross to Brooklyn to hear Mr. Beecher. On Monday I will go to Boston leaving Mr. Brooks to do what business he may have to attend to, in New York. He will probably meet me on Thursday, and Friday we will start home and if we shall be as fortunate as some travelers I shall reach home on Saturday two weeks.

NEW YORK, Aug. 23rd, 1848

When I wrote to you from the City of Brotherly Love I expected long ere this to have been treading the land of steady habits, but circumstances regulated my movements otherwise. We left Philadelphia as I told you we intended, at 9 A. M. on Saturday the 19th, in steam boat. 9 miles to Tacona on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, thence by railroad, crossing the Delaware at Trenton, then through Brunswick where we crossed at Rariton, then to Elizabethtown and Newark where we crossed the Passaic, we also, before reaching Brunswick passed through Princeton and Kingston. We reached Newark about 1 P. M. where we stopped until 5, and got to that city, about 6, crossing the Hudson in a steam boat where the river is about 1 mile wide, and took lodgings at Judson's Hotel on Broadway.

On Sunday morning Mr. Brooks discovered that his trunk had been robbed and as he had business in the bank here on Monday which could not be transacted by deputy, I started back at 4:30 P. M. Sunday and reached the city by 9 (96 miles), in hopes of securing the depredator, but having conjecture only to act upon. After consulting the Mayor and police officials, it was considered by them most advisable to rely upon future developments. Yesterday afternoon Mr. Collins and lady, Mr. Brooks and daughter, and I went up about 11 miles to the aqueduct which passes the Croton River over the Harlem River, to supply the city with water. The aqueduct is about 140 high and has 15 arches most of them 90 feet cord, it is between 1500 and 1600 feet long, and I walked over it on the coping of the sidewalks. The water passes over

it, in two cylinders, 3 or 4 feet in diameter. We had from it, a good view of the upper part of the city. This trip of about 22 miles, cost 31 cents to each, 6 miles by railroad and the residue by omnibus. There are a great many places where a man could pass an hour very agreeably, but I am very tired of looking at such masses of brick and mortar, and would infinitely prefer even Salem as a residence. This evening at 5 P. M. (it is now 3) we leave in a steamboat for Norwich, Conn., and expect by 5 A. M. to-morrow to be in Boston where I shall of course hear from you. It is a very long while since I left home, and I can hardly realize the truth, although it is true, that I left home on the 7th (16 days ago) while heretofore I have been on a survey for four weeks, it has not appeared half so long; but here, I have been idle, aye, there lies the key to an explanation.

The New Jersey towns are decidedly superior to anything I have seen, and Philadelphia city, very greatly superior as a city, to all others. Many streets here in New York are not wider than the alley by our stable, and yet have four and five story blocks of buildings on them.

I hope I shall see you all on Saturday next week, well and happy. As Mr. Brooks has got through with all, or nearly all, the business he had to do, we shall stop only when we want to examine some road or other work, which may be profitable.

My love to all the children, Oliver, Henry, Mary and Grace and believe me, my dear wife, that I want more anxiously to see you than I ever did.

Affectionately your husband,

L. B. WILSON

(There are thirty-four living descendants of the four children Mr. Wilson names, and it is his *tenth child* who gives the above information to the public.)

Sulgrove's *History of Indianapolis and Marion County* (1884) on page 50 referring to a part of the National Road, is the statement:

The survey of this road, was made by the late Lazarus B. Wilson, Engineer of the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Rail Road. He also planned the wooden arch bridges on the line, which have been in constant use, with little repair, except replacing the soft slate of the first stone work of the river bridge, with durable limestone, since 1833.

# The Harmonist Movement in Indiana

By ELIZABETH SMITH DENEHIE, Terre Haute

The Harmonist movement was a practical lesson in sociology and though not entirely successful, it nevertheless has left a marked influence on the people and communities in which it worked. There are four cardinal types in the institutions of civilization, namely: the family, civil society with its division of labor, the state and the church. Society seems to be a "give and take" proposition. It is like a larger individual; an institutional person. Communism or socialism, of which Harmonism was a type, aims to substitute civil society for the family and for the state.

Harmonism in the United States began its career in Pennsylvania in 1803, under the leadership of George Rapp, a German farmer of plebian descent, one hundred twenty-five families left their homes in Wurtemberg, Germany, and came to America, hoping to find freedom from the religious restraint then existing in their country.<sup>1</sup>

Religion has ever been a powerful motivating force of immeasurable value; it has had strange and various results. In our quiet hours we like to read of the martyrs in the early days of Christianity, who gave their lives for the sake of their religious beliefs; it is interesting to ponder the troublesome days of the Reformation and the outgrowth of them; and again we enjoy teaching our children of the religious motives underlying the coming of the Pilgrims to our shores. All of these movements are carefully chronicled in the world's history and all of them took their rise in religious convictions.

So it was with this Rappite movement, the forerunner of Harmonism in Indiana.<sup>2</sup> Since the initial movement centers about Rapp, a description of the man is of value. He was a German peasant, farmer and vine-dresser by occupation. He was six feet tall, with a long white beard that gave him the bearing of an old patriarch and prophet. He was a cheerful, kindly, sympathetic man and made a strong appeal to the

<sup>1</sup>1. George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement, Preface.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-12.

ignorant peasants under his charge. As has happened many times before, George Rapp gained great prestige by working on the superstitions of the peasants. He told his followers of the many visions he had in which the Lord gave him explicit directions for the construction of great buildings. One vision, in particular, revealed to him the plans for constructing a building in the form of a Greek cross. This came directly from heaven, he told his flock.<sup>3</sup>

Rapp was a careful Bible student and when he was thirty he gave talks to ardent listeners on religious subjects. He acknowledged no written creed, and insisted on the dual nature of Adam. Interpreting Genesis in his own peculiar way, he believed that Adam contained within his own person both sexual elements and he held that both the creator and the created had this dual nature. Furthermore, Rapp said that if Adam had been allowed to remain in his original state, he would have begotten offspring without the aid of a female. But Adam became discontented and God separated the female part of his body from him. This is the Rappite interpretation of the fall of man.<sup>4</sup>

Following this deduction on the fall of man, Rapp renounced marriage and celibacy became a rule of their community life. Exception is taken to this statement, however by some authors. One says that when the families in Rapp's community still lived together there were a few marriages. Between 1805 and 1807 John Rapp, the founder's son, was married and there is no doubt that the elder Rapp performed the ceremony. Later there was a deep religious fervor and revival came upon the Rappites, the rule of celibacy was firmly established.<sup>5</sup>

The keynote of Rapp's creed follows: "Love to God above all and thy neighbor as thyself, without laying much stress on ceremony." He believed in future rewards and punishments but those of the latter were to be but temporary; happiness would ultimately triumph.<sup>6</sup>

In accordance with this creed Rapp taught humility and simplicity, self-sacrifice, neighborly love, regular and perse-

<sup>3</sup> Geo. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 21 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Geo. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Geo. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 11.

vering industry, prayer and self-examination. "Let not the sun go down upon thy wrath" was literally enforced. He did all the preaching, allowed no visiting ministers, and thus held an autocratic power over his followers. He was an absolute ruler; he had imbibed this idea of government from Germany and he always insisted that he ruled by "divine right."<sup>7</sup>

This phrase "divine right" is not new to us Americans any longer. It is easy to see how Rapp could have tried to implant his sort of rule in a new country. The World war has changed forever the "divine right" of kings and potentates, and all future reformers shall have to adopt new phraseology.

By 1815 Rapp had developed a thriving community in Pennsylvania and the poor hard-working peasants of a few years before were now living in plenty, although luxury was always barred from the door. Thinking that life was now too easy, Rapp moved his settlement to a new home in Indiana. Toil and suffering had left their traces on the faces of the German peasants and, although they were well-fed and well-clothed they had bought this satisfaction at the cost of heart and soul; with their lives.<sup>8</sup>

The Rappites moved to a tract of land on the Wabash river, a few miles above its mouth. They purchased twenty thousand acres of government land, several adjacent improved farms and founded the village of Harmonie. The name chosen for their new home is very suggestive of peace, harmony, and brotherly love, the trinity which symbolized the desire of Father Rapp.

Harmonie soon showed evident of German thrift; many log cabins, orchards, vineyards, a large church, many manufactories, a cocoonery, a distillery, woolen mill, saw mill, brick yard, oil well and well built houses testified to the willing spirit of the Rappites. Fred Rapp, the adopted son of George Rapp, looked after the outside affairs of the community, leaving the elder man to give his entire attention to the community itself. Under their joint leadership Harmony became "like some quaint German village transported from the Neckar or the Rhine and set down in this western waste like an Aladdin's palace."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Chas. Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of U. S.*, 78.

<sup>8</sup> Geo. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Geo. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 29.

The Harmonists wore very plain dresses as the Quakers do and made no pretense to style. The cloth was rough homespun and fashioned to give the greatest amount of wear with the least possible amount of attraction.

The result of Rapp's harmonist movement shows well in dollars and cents at least. When they had left their homes in Germany, the wealth of each individual did not exceed twenty-five dollars and in twenty-one years a fair estimate gave them two thousand dollars each man, woman, and child. This is probably ten times the wealth of an average person in the United States.

The community of Harmonie was bought from Rapp by Robert Owen, an industrial and socialistic worker from New Lanark, Scotland. When Owen and his followers arrived in Harmony they found what was to them, a vision of promise. Arriving in New York from Scotland, Robert Owen gathered a number of intellectual people about him and embarked down the Ohio for their new home. The trip was made in a keel boat and ever since this has been called "The Boat Load of Knowledge."

To understand more fully the Owenite movement in Indiana it is to the point that we glance back in perspective to the rearing of Robert Owen, this leader.

From casual readings at different times on the early life of Robert Owen, I have received the impression that as a child he was a serious, sober, eccentric and precocious child. He did not enjoy the plays of childhood as others did; but he would wander off alone and ponder over great truths and great mysteries of life, some of which the greatest thinkers of the present day have not solved.

When Robert Owen was ten years old he went to work as an apprentice to a London draper; hence he got a very limited education. His father had a large library and Robert had liberal facilities for wide reading. It is said he read five hours a day, a great part of the reading being the big London daily papers. He was peculiarly gifted in possessing a fine business instinct and a persevering spirit of industry. From the position as apprentice at the age of ten he made his own way and showed remarkable capacity for saving money, helping others and getting things done. He made a number of partnerships

from time to time as money and experience allowed. He married Miss Dale of Glasgow, daughter of David Dale, owner of an extensive manufacturing estate at New Lanark, Scotland. In 1800 when he was twenty-nine years of age, he bought this large manufacturing business from David Dale for three hundred thousand dollars.

We here see Owen mixing "business and pleasure," as he set about to get himself a wife.

In 1806 there was a United States embargo declared on cotton and Owen closed his large cotton mill that he had purchased from Dale. During this period of non-employment, Owen paid his workers their wages, thus establishing a very close bond of sympathy and friendship with them. This move on the part of Owen met with the disapproval of his partners and he bought them out for seven hundred seventy-seven thousand dollars. Owen kept fighting bad factory and living conditions and thus inspired manliness, hope and confidence in his employees.

The industrial revolution in England then, in the last years of the eighteenth century caused by the competition of machine labor against manual labor, resulted in a great number of unemployed men. The factory workers lived in squalid homes, had no education, ignored sanitation and simply continued to exist. To the fertile mind of Robert Owen these things presented a problem to be investigated; reform was needed along many lines and he felt himself called upon to work out the solution of the problem.

In the next session of Parliament, Robert Owen urged a bill to regulate child labor and stipulated that no child under ten be employed in factories. The House of Commons took up the matter but it took four years to get its final passage. About this time, Owen made a public declaration of religious principles. From now on his popularity waned; but Owen pushed valiantly on in his studies of social reform.

Up to this period, Robert Owen had accomplished much good in the way of social reform, especially among the mill workers and their families. However, as soon as he began to air his religious views, his influence lost weight.

It seemed as if Providence were in close touch with Owen in his attempts to found a new kind of social world, for at this

time Richard Flower arrived in England. He had been commissioned by George Rapp to sell the great Harmonist estate and so he suggested to Owen that he purchase Harmony in Indiana. So in 1824 Mr. Flower and Robert Owen returned to the United States where the transfer of property was made. By the spring of 1825, Owen became owner of nearly thirty thousand acres of ground, nineteen detached farms, six hundred acres of improved land occupied by tenants and fine orchards, eighteen acres of bearing vines and the village of Harmony. In the village were factories, a church, houses and machinery all waiting for the magic touch of Owen to become the ideal social structure of the world.

Here we may well take up the thread of our story, forgotten a little distance back when the "Boat-load of Knowledge" arrived from New York, with Robert Owen as pilot in the grand new adventure.

Sociologists tell us there are three kinds of reformers in the social work of the world: the pure theorists who picture an ideal state without suggesting practical effort, as Plato in his *Republic*; the practical architect as the Rappites, Shakers, and others who establish societies in imitation of the supposed communism of early Christians; and the combination of theoretical and practical architects, who have combined social theories with practical experiments. Robert Owen christened his new home New Harmony and it became the scene of the most notable architects of sociology of two of these three classes given.

As to the general attitude of Robert Owen to the world, we might quote his words from *The New Moral World*, a periodical of that day to which he contributed, "Civilization! How the term is misapplied! A state of society based upon ignorance, deranging the faculties of all." It was never evident to Owen that he, himself, might be ignorant of some fields of knowledge, and herein was the cause of his failures.

On April 27, 1825, Robert Owen called a meeting in the old Rappite church and there changed the name of the settlement to New Harmony. He pointed out the fact in his address that for a while it would be impossible to avoid a certain degree of inequality because money would have to be spent to

induce men of big intellectual caliber to settle in New Harmony.

Certainly all will agree that Owen showed wisdom in laying the foundation of his new experiment on the grounds of intellectual guidance and attainments.

Feeling his way cautiously, Owen organized "The Preliminary Society of New Harmony," thus placing his followers on a term of probation before admitting them as fullfledged communistic members. As a sort of preamble to the constitution of this preliminary society we read: "the society is instituted generally to promote happiness of the world." Again we feel the effect of Owen's altruism in setting forth such an aim for his society. A critic has asked, "Wherein, then, was the failure of such a noble purpose thwarted?" In the constitution itself Owen called himself the proprietor of the settlement and founder of the system; he claimed the right to appoint committees to direct and manage the affairs of the society. The manner of living in New Harmony was quite significant of his socialistic tendencies:

The members shall occupy the dwellings which the committee may provide for them.

The livestock possessed by members will be taken and placed to their credit if wanted for the society, but if not required it shall not be received.

The living shall be upon equal terms for all with the exceptions hereafter to be mentioned.

Each member shall, within a fixed amount in value, have the free choice of food and clothing.

He added further, that as far as possible each family consume products of America in order to build up New Harmony more speedily.

To those of us who look for a man's good points and strive to cover up his weak points, the statement of Owen in which he suggests the consumption of home-grown products appeals as a patriotic project and worthy of emulation. It is pleasing to note the difference between George Rapp's egotistic claim to govern by "divine right" and Owen's plea to buy and consume American made goods.

The religion of Robert Owen was perhaps at the bottom of most of his failures, so far as I am able to judge from read-

ing. In speaking of his father's religion, Robert Dale Owen said:

My father, a Deist, or free thinking unitarian was tender of my mother's religious sentiments and did not in those days interfere with instructions to try to undermine our belief—My own father! kind, indulgent to us all, and loved and respected by everybody.<sup>10</sup>

Robert Dale Owen in his autobiography calls his mother:

a devout Presbyterian, though too gentle to be bigoted and thoroughly imbued with the belief that the most orthodox form of Protestantism is essential to happiness if not to virtue.

As readers we are interested in the home life of a great man and as we look into Robert Owens' home we find him kind to his wife and four sons, sympathetic and charitable. He liked to read but never made notes or engaged in intensive study of books. He is quoted as saying, "the radical errors shared by all men make books of comparatively little value."<sup>11</sup>

This statement then seems rather inconsistent when we learn later that Owen wrote a great number of tracts and editorials himself. Surely he thought people would be moved by these messages of his pen, while they might be deaf to the entreaties of other writers.

Some of Owen's ideas are far in advance of his day, however. In the matter of sanitation it is of interest to note that Owen had worked on the problem of sanitary living conditions for his employees in New Lanark. In 1803 in this mill town of Scotland, "each house had a single room and before each door was found a dunghill." Robert Owen added an additional story to each house and saw that the dunghills were removed. The village streets were also swept every night.

Many people hoped for a better attempt in the second community at Harmony. The people who came to New Harmony were a very intelligent, cultured, refined people while those of Rapp's Harmony were ignorant, uncultured, superstitious people. Surely Owen's work would be a success thought many.

It is interesting to note some of the brilliant minds who came and worked with Robert Owen in New Harmony. First

<sup>10</sup> Robt. Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 57-59.

<sup>11</sup> Robt. Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 57.

there was William Maclure, born in Ayre, Scotland, in 1763. He had come to the United States to make a geological survey of this country. He had tramped on foot every state and territory then within the limits of the United States and he is known as the father of American Geology.

Maclure had a great interest in education and he visited Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland. He was the first to introduce the system of the Swiss educator into the United States. He was also one of the earliest champions of the idea of industrial education here. Investing \$150,000 in the New Harmony experiment, Maclure said that he and Owen would make New Harmony the center of American education.

Another eminent man, who contributed largely to the scientific education in New Harmony was Thomas Say, father of American Zoology. He was a charter member of the association which founded the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences. He edited about one hundred scientific papers.

To Charles Alexander Leseur, we are indebted for our early knowledge of the moundbuilders in Indiana. He was one of the New Harmony educators and he was the first to classify the fishes of the Great Lakes. Some of his sketches are still found in the New Harmony library.

Professor Joseph Neef came and took charge of the education of New Harmony children. With the help of Madame Fretageot he introduced the workings of the Pestalozzian system in the schools.

Frances Wright was one of the notable women in the New Harmony movement. She was the first American advocate of woman's rights and one of the earliest abolition advocates. She wrote and made many speeches in the Hall of New Harmony to set before the people her views, belief in which would help revolutionize the social world. Hoosiers may be proud to claim Frances Wright the first advocate of woman suffrage.

There were other famous persons in New Harmony who contributed to the culture of Owen's settlement, but this paper will not permit a discussion of all of them. These mentioned are types of the minds, with which Owen purposed to bring forth a new moral world.

Robert Dale Owen was for many years in hearty sympathy with his father's plans of social regeneration. As he grew older and studied the situation more closely, he began to inquire into the reasons why his father's plans didn't mature.

One form of government after the other failed in the New Harmony community and the constitution was changed seven times. For business reasons Robert Owen left the community several times and went back to Europe. Each trip seemed to be the cause of dissension among the Harmonists. The executive committees finally asked Owen to become the head of the government, which he did. Still success seemed but temporary. Itinerant preachers were welcomed by Owen; they were entertained at the hotel and then they were at liberty to give free discussions of religion to the communists. With Owen's unorthodox religious views and many different views of traveling preachers, the minds of the Harmonists were sadly disturbed. Then the most natural thing began to happen; new communities began to form around New Harmony as a nucleus.

The greatest progress made in the social world according to Owen is made possible when there are no armies, churches, lawyers, doctors, and exclusive universities. He said further that the practice of religion includes a knowledge of the laws of nature and efforts to do good to our fellow men.

As regards to education, Owen had very original ideas. He did not believe in cramming book knowledge into the child's brain. He aimed to give training that should be vital and harmonize with the social need. He said once in speaking of an educated person, "The bookful blockhead ignorantly read, with loads of learned lumber in his head."<sup>12</sup>

When Maclure arrived in New Harmony there were no public schools in the United States [?] save those of New England where the provision for education for girls was very meagre. So Owen with the aid of Maclure set out to remedy this condition and formulated an educational curriculum.

The program for the children of New Harmony follows:

For children 1 to 5 years, well clothed, well-fed and exercised; 5 to 10 years, light employment, and continued education; children from 10 to 12 years, assist in gardens and house; 12 to 15 years, begin tech-

<sup>12</sup> Wm. Lucas Sargent, *Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy*, 381.

nical training; 15 to 20 education continued, help instruct younger children; 20 to 30 members were to act as superintendent in department of education; 30 to 40 govern the homes; 40 to 60 assist in management of external relation of communities or travel abroad as suited the will.

This program sounds interesting and quite inclusive at any rate.<sup>13</sup>

The status of woman in New Harmony sounds advanced also, in the light of the present day. Owen advocated equal privileges of the sexes. He advocated the right of married women to own property and a number of other things.

The relations existing between the youth and maidens in New Harmony is happily put by Robert Dale Owen. He says:

There were free and simple relations existing between youths and maidens; we called each other by our Christian names only; we spoke and acted as brothers and sisters might, often strolled out by moonlight in groups; sometimes in single pairs; yet withal, no scandal or other harm came of it, either then or later.<sup>14</sup>

The one innovation in education added by Maclure was the industrial school. He believed there should be free, equal and universal schools to which at an early age children should be surrendered and in which they could be clothed, fed, sheltered and educated at public expense. Properly managed the labor of the child at his trade in the industrial department would more than pay for his maintenance and entirely relieve the public from the financial burden of supporting the schools.

Having grown up among the laboring classes, Owen always took an active part in the labor questions of New Harmony. He had peculiar ideas about the currency in this connection too. He proposed to substitute labor in place of gold or silver as a means of exchange. Little bills were issued saying John Smith was indebted to Samuel Johnson for two hours of labor or its equivalent in corn.<sup>15</sup>

Since the recent prohibition law went into effect it will not be amiss to examine Owens' ideas on this subject. When he was twenty years old he applied to a Mr. Drinkwater in New Lanark for a position. On being asked, "How often do you get drunk," Owen replied, "I was never drunk in my life." It

<sup>13</sup> Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 287.

<sup>14</sup> Robt. Dale Owen, *Threading My Way*, 250.

<sup>15</sup> Wm. Lucas Sargent, *Robt. Owen and His Social Philosophy*, 172.

is needless to add that Owen got this position at several times the amount of salary first tendered him. In New Harmony he allowed no liquor to be distilled, because he thought it detracted from the possibilities of man's highest development. In a speech he made April 13, 1828, he said:

I can only feel regret instead of anger because monopolies have been established in certain departments without my indorsement; it was not my intention to have a petty store and whiskey shop here.

Evidently there were traces of what we term "blind tigers" in Owen's community, though it was much against his wishes.

With this much understanding of Robert Owen and his Harmonistic plans the question as to the cause for its failure arises. Many answers have been given. A few of these are:

Owen lived too long, had he died in middle life before he earned the antipathy of society by the loud proclamation of his ill-considered moral philosophy his memory would have been revered.

The absence of Robert Owen from New Harmony for long and protracted intervals gave rise to dissensions among his people. No central authority perhaps was a factor in the failure of his plans.

Robert Owen saw the errors of orthodox theology and felt their mischievous influence; but he did not clearly perceive the religious needs of the world.

He limited his view of man to the first three score and ten years of his life, ignoring the illimitable future beyond.

The devil is blamed in this poem it seems for Owens work, if not for his failure:

The devil at length scrambled out of his hole,  
Discovered by Synnes at the freezing North Pole,  
He mounted an iceberg, spread his wings for a sail,  
And started for earth with his long barbed tail.

It is well to see both sides of a question, however, and a word or two that places a different estimate upon Owen's work is to the point.

Sargeant says:

Owen had a shallow philosophy; he wasted power in his long life; he had a narrowness of mental vision; his schemes of social reform were crude and mischievous; with all these faults and even though he was not a great man, he was great among self-educated men.

English communism is best represented by Robert Owen.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Wm. Lucas Sargent, *Robt. Owen and His Social Philosophy*, 446.

The co-operative movement in society is rapidly becoming a national movement now, sustained by the development and activity of an ever increasing popular knowledge. Owen's ideas and ideals were passed on and many of them are at work now.

Whatever may be the exact result and influence of the Harmonist movement in Indiana is difficult to state; yet we all may praise Owen for his unfaltering courage in pursuing his ideal steadfastly, through a period of years that ended only with the grave. Robert Owen died in 1858 in the house next to the house in which he was born in the little town of Newton, England.

Robert Owen left four sons, all sturdy industrious men, who lost nothing of their father's courage and perseverance. Robert Dale Owen came to New Harmony with his father when he was twenty-four years and his life is intimately connected with the later life of New Harmony. He was one of the notable men who signed the second constitution of Indiana. Although by 1830 there was not an association to continue the movement so auspiciously begun five years before by Robert Owen, there are still many landmarks whereby the history of the Harmonist movement can be traced. Robert Dale Owen worked tirelessly in the political interest of Indiana for several years and especially did he urge that women be given the rights due them. He pays a very beautiful tribute to women in the following:

I owe to woman as wife and friend, all the best, happiest—yes, the purest hours of my life. I have no associations connected with the name of woman save those of esteem and respectful attention. I owe to her a sense of gratitude that can never be paid though my days were extended to the term of life assigned to the ancient patriarchs and though all those days were devoted to the vindication of her rights.

## Historical News

BY THE INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

The Fourth Annual meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society was held in Evansville on February 28, 1923. The program was divided into three sessions. During the morning session the business of the Society was transacted, and three paper were read. "Private Schools in Evansville from 1842 to 1853," Mrs. George S. Clifford, Evansville; "The Lincolns in Spencer County," Miss Ida D. Armstrong, Rockport; "More Lincoln Memories," Mrs. Nancy Grigsby Inco, Rockport. A noon luncheon was served to the members of the Society by the Evansville chamber of commerce, Judge John E. Iglehart, president of the Southwestern Indiana historical society, presiding. At the afternoon program, papers were read by Judge E. Q. Lockyear, Evansville, on "A Tribute to the Late Frank B. Posey;" Mrs. Charles T. Johnson of Mt. Vernon on "Moses Ashworth, Pioneer of Indiana Methodism;" Gil R. Stormont, Princeton, on "Judge William Prince." An original poem, "The Landing," in which was give a vivid picture of the century's development since the canoe of Col. Hugh McGary first landed at the site of what is now Evansville, was read by the author, Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon. The Vanderburgh County museum, housed in the Willard library, was visited, where a talk was given by Otto Laval on Indian relics, with illustrations from his own collection. The new officers elected were president, Thomas James de la Hunt, Cannelton; secretary, Mrs. Calder D. Ehrmann, Rockport; treasurer, George H. Honig, Evansville. The vice presidents, one in each of the eight counties, are filled by appointment. The Southwestern historical society has 345 members enrolled in the eight counties, and about 200 of whom were present at the Evansville meeting.

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The One Hundredth Anniversary of the organization of Henry county was celebrated during the week of April 8th to 15th. The Henry county historical society had charge of the

centennial, and under the direction of Clarence H. Smith, curator of the society, a splendid program was planned, emphasizing the developments that have occurred in Henry county during the past century. Schools, churches, clubs, civic and commercial organizations, business houses, lodges, and other organizations all joined in making the centennial observance a success, and an exhibit of old relics displayed in store windows and shop windows added much to the educational and historical value of the centennial. The closing event of the centennial week was the dedication of a memorial erected to the memory of Wilbur Wright, inventor of the airplane and a native son of Henry county. The memorial, consisting of a bronze tablet mounted on a large boulder, stands on the highest point in Memorial park in Newcastle. Orville Wright, a brother and co-inventor of the airplane, was present, and participated in the dedication exercises. The Phi Delta Kappa fraternity under whose auspices the memorial exercises were held did not overlook the educational advantages that should attend such an occasion. Under their direction a number of prizes were offered to the school children for the best essays written on Wilbur Wright and his Inventions. Prizes were awarded to Mary Rogers, Wilbur Williams and Mary Mangold for the best essays. A centennial program in which the educational and historical features are emphasized, rather than the carnival idea can always be made a success. Henry county proved this beyond all question.

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The History section of the Indiana State teacher's association met in Indianapolis on May 4-5, 1923, for the annual spring meeting. The Friday evening program consisted of "Extracts from the Diary of a Pioneer" by Miss Emma Colbert, Teacher's college, Indianapolis; "Junior Historical Societies", by Miss Cora M. Straughan, Marion; and "Historical Sidelights from the Papers of William Henry Harrison" by Logan Esarey, Indiana university.

The Saturday morning session was opened with a breakfast for college teachers of history at which time a discussion on "The Articulation of the Social Sciences in Colleges and Universities" took place. This was followed by the regular program consisting of a talk on "To What Extent Should

Chronology be Emphasized in History Teaching?" discussion led by Russel V. Sigler, Shortridge high school, Indianapolis; "Should the meeting of the History Teachers' Association be held in connection with the History Conference." discussion led by Harlow Lindley, Earlham college; "The Place of Indiana History in Our Course of Social Studies", discussion led by J. C. Black, Anderson; and "Historical Monuments of Historical Ideas", by A. L. Kohlmeier, Indiana university. The newly elected officers for the ensuing year are W. W. Carson, Depauw university, president; D. S. Morgan, Indianapolis, vice president; Miss Florence Case, Marion, secretary-treasurer. The two new members added to the executive committee are Paul T. Smith of Purdue university, and R. V. Sigler of Indianapolis. The History Teachers' section voted to hold their next meeting in connection with the State History conference in December, 1923. This action was taken with the view of bringing together all of the historical agencies in Indiana interested in state history.

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The Indiana Lincoln Memorial commission was created by an act passed during the last session of the General Assembly, 1923. The commission consists of nine members all appointed by the governor; Albert J. Wedeking, Dale; Charles J. Buchanan, Indianapolis; Clem J. Richards, Terre Haute; Mrs. E. J. Torrance, Evansville; Roscoe Kiper, Boonville; Thomas Taggart, French Lick; Claude G. Bowers, Fort Wayne; Mrs. John I. Gwin, Rensselaer; Dan Simms, Lafayette. The object of the Lincoln Memorial commission is to provide for the erection of a suitable memorial at Lincoln City, Spencer county, Indiana, where Abraham Lincoln lived from his seventh to his twentieth years, 1816-1830. An appropriation of \$5,000 was made for the purchase of land on which the cabin of Thomas Lincoln stood, and such additional grounds as will be needed for the memorial. Funds for building the Memorial will be raised by popular subscription. The creation of the Lincoln Memorial commission is the outgrowth of the voluntary organization known as the Indiana Lincoln Memorial association, organized June 25, 1922. On that date twelve loyal Hoosiers journeyed to Hodgenville, Kentucky, and while gathered around the walls of the old log cabin in which the martyred

president was born, pledged themselves to start a movement, looking toward the erection of a fitting memorial in our own state, symbolizing the youth of Abraham Lincoln spent upon Indiana soil.

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Two Mexican War veterans are still living in Indiana according to the last United States pension report. Their names are Uriah Gassaway of Reelsville, Putnam county, and Samuel Leffler of St. Paul, Decatur county. Mr. Gassaway enlisted in the United States army in Bedford, Kentucky in 1845 and served until the close of the Mexican war in 1848. He then moved to Putnam county, Indiana, where he still resides. Samuel Leffler was born June 14, 1829 in Butler county, Ohio, and when six years old moved with his parents to Decatur county, Indiana. During the Mexican war he served with company E, 5th Indiana infantry, commanded by Capt. Samuel McKenzie of Shelbyville. He was mustered out of service July 18, 1848. During the Civil war Mr. Leffler again volunteered his services and enlisted with company A, 54th Indiana infantry, commanded by Col. James Lane of Lawrenceburg. According to the last federal census report there are only fifty-two survivors of the Mexican war in the entire United States.

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Real, unselfish, patriotic service marks the work which Major David I. McCormick, Superintendent of the Indiana Battle Flag commission has been doing in giving talks before the high school students of Indiana on "The History and Preservation of Flags." That Indiana has the best display of flags found in the United States is due largely to the persistent and never-tiring labor of Major McCormick, who has for a number of years been giving his life to the important work of repairing, mending, and encasing these old battle-scarred emblems. Under his direction 310 Civil war flags, 12 Spanish-American war flags, 6 Mexican war flags, and 25 World war flags have been collected. Of this number approximately 160 have been cased. The others are packed away in boxes in the basement of the State House, waiting until more funds and space are provided to enable the flag commission to case and properly display them.

The Whitewood Tulip tree (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*) was adopted as the official state flower (?) of Indiana by the recent session of the General Assembly. The bill making this Indiana's state flower was sponsored by Mrs. Fannie K. Baker of the Teacher's college of Indianapolis, and introduced by Miss Elizabeth Rainey, representative from Marion County. Mrs. Baker in describing the tulip tree says: "Because of its whitewood and its splendid tulip-like blossom, it has been given the scientific name of *Liriodendron Tulipifera*, or Whitewood Tulip tree. In beauty it ranks high among the members of the Magnolia family, to which it belongs; its most magnificent cousin being the *Magnolia Grandiflora* of the South, and also its more modest sister, the White Bay."

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Thomas F. Moran, head of the department of history in Purdue university has been appointed by Gov. Warren T. McCray to membership on the Indiana Historical Commission. Professor Moran succeeds Rev. Matthew J. Walsh of Notre Dame university, whose term expired April 26, 1923.

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Mrs. Samuel R. Taylor, president of the Fort Wayne historical society, has been appointed curator of the Allen County historical museum, located on the third floor of the Allen County court house. The museum has been closed for more than a year, but due to a movement sponsored by the Mary Penrose Chapter of the D. A. R. to re-open it, plans have been made for permitting visitors to visit the museum from nine to twelve, and one to five o'clock daily.

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The Gibson County historical society was organized on February 27, 1923. Judge Lucius C. Embree of Princeton was elected president; J. R. Strickland of Owensville, vice president; Mrs. A. P. Twineham of Princeton, secretary, and Mrs. S. R. Lockwood of Fort Branch, treasurer. Thirty-one charter members were obtained at the first meeting. The dues of the society are divided evenly between the Gibson County historical society and the Southwestern Indiana historical society.

A new historical society was organized in Huntington county on March 2, 1923. The officers elected were Milo Feightner, president; Benjamin F. Biliter, first vice president; Mrs. Frank Felter, second vice president; Charles Arnold, third vice president; Carl Bonewitz, secretary, and Miss Dilla Stults, treasurer.

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The White County historical society recently came into possession of a gift of \$200 provided for in the will of the late William H. Hamelle, who was serving as president of the society at the time of his death.

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An Indiana History week was celebrated by the Tipton public library, April 16 to 22. Under the direction of Mrs. Sam J. Matthews, librarian, a program was planned which extended throughout the entire week, every day of which was devoted to some phase of state and local history. During the week several important historical contributions were donated to the Tipton public library,—including copies of the old McGuffey Readers, a history of the Presbyterian and Christian churches, historical sketches of pioneer schools, four books on Indiana history, an Indiana state flag, four tulip trees (the recently adopted state flower), Indiana maps, several pioneer stories, and numerous historical relics. Also four new members from Tipton county were enrolled in the Indiana historical society.

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# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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## The History of an Unusual Library

By ELLA LONN, Goucher College, Baltimore

To the book-lover all libraries with their shelves of alluring titles, with their musty old books tucked away in basements, hold a fascination, but the old library in a small town which traces its ancestry through the Civil war, through the first library movement in the state, back to the very roots of the existence of the town itself must hold interest even for the person who cherishes no special affection for books or their abiding-places.

In the year 1833 a little embryo village was surveyed and laid out in the north-western corner of the state of Indiana, where a gap in the dense, primeval forest invited the Indians and French to seek a gateway through the timber from one part of the prairie to another, and was poetically named La Porte.

It augured well for the literary aspirations of the infant settlement that in the second winter, 1834-5, the few villagers should contribute of their scanty hoard toward a common book-fund. To New York went the fund; back slowly over pioneer trails came a few books to swell the library already donated from the settlers' personal libraries to the rather remarkable total of nearly three hundred volumes. The books were carefully listed and the library proudly installed in a corner of the office of John B. Niles, the one attorney the place boasted, under the nominal charge of an Englishman

by the name of Whittam. Some of Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* and Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* indicate sufficiently the choices of the day, while the only periodical was *The Dial*, later the chief organ of the Transcendalists.<sup>1</sup>

There then comes a long gap, during which the settlers apparently dropped their cooperative effort, possibly because they were more absorbed in exercising the muscles of their bodies in wrestling with the soil and with primitive conditions than in exercising the muscles of their brains. But in the midst of the Civil war the beginnings of the present library are to be found. Although boasting nearly eight thousand inhabitants, La Porte was without a reading-room or library, except the McClure library,<sup>2</sup> to which so few had access that it was practically without influence on the community. A few choice souls, under the impetus of the pastor of the Presbyterian church, determined to organize an institution "to be influential in developing a literary taste by cultivating a habit of reading, to stimulate the mind by promoting learning, and to furnish a pleasant and useful place of resort."<sup>3</sup> The effort awakened such enthusiasm that by March 16, 1863, five hundred dollars had been subscribed. On that date the subscribers met in the Grammar School building and effected an organization of the La Porte Reading-Room and Library Association by the adoption of a constitution and by the election of officers and directors.<sup>4</sup>

The prompt opening of negotiations with the other library association in the town necessitates a rather lengthy digression, which is justified by the link thus established between the La Porte library and the first library movement in the Central West—a movement of far more than passing or local interest.

It will be readily recalled by readers familiar with com-

<sup>1</sup> The above brief account is based upon an interview given a reporter of the *Le Porte Herald* by Mrs. George L. Andrew, recorded in its issue of January 10, 1921. She tells how she read the *Last Days of Pompeii* at the ripe age of ten, because that was all the fodder there was for her active little mind, and how she skipped all the hard words until she was detected by an uncle, whereupon she was forced laboriously to read aloud and spell out all the long words. *The Spy* was one of the very first books she read.

<sup>2</sup> To be explained later in the paper.

<sup>3</sup> Jasper Packard, *A History of La Porte County*, 110.

<sup>4</sup> The names of the officers, one of whom is still alive, are recorded in Packard, 110.

munity experiments that in 1825 Robert Owen, the famous Welsh manufacturer and philanthropist of New Lanark, after making that factory town renowned as the happiest mill community in England, turned to the new world to try out a communistic colonization scheme which he believed was to inaugurate a "new moral world." He purchased thirty thousand acres of land at New Harmony on the lower Wabash river in Posey county, southern Indiana, from the Rappites<sup>5</sup> in order to have a vast theatre to try out his social reforms.

Among the eminent men of science<sup>6</sup> whom Owen gathered about himself, was William McClure,<sup>7</sup> a man of large means, who had traveled far and wide, and who had a deep knowledge of science. Owen gave McClure sole charge of the educational part of his reforms, while McClure, on his side, joined whole-heartedly in the experiment by investing \$150,000 and agreeing to focus his plans for educational work in America about Harmony under the Pestalozzian system. The two men shared the ideal of devotion to the improvement of the conditions of the lowly. Although Owen's experiment ended within three years in failure and in that visionary's return to England, although all McClure's educational experiments failed, one by one, still in his last hours, as he was re-

<sup>5</sup> The *Rappites* is a convenient way of designating the earlier religious socialistic group of German peasants who had followed George Rapp from Wurtemberg to found Harmonie in Butler County, Pennsylvania, who had then moved to New Harmony in Indiana in 1815, where they prospered, but who then for some not wholly explained reason sold their estate to Owen in 1824 and removed once more to Beaver County, Pennsylvania. The mortality from malaria among their membership during the first four or five years fixed their determination, it is said, to sell their plantation as soon as a purchaser could be found, and may partially explain the sacrifice after the malarial conditions had been overcome of their thirty thousand acres of orchard, garden, vineyard, and fields. The Beaver community ultimately ceased to exist and became a conventional corporation of individual holdings. J. H. Levering, *Historical Indiana*, 241-3.

<sup>6</sup> The group included, besides McClure, Joseph Neef, a disciple of Pestalozzi, Schoolcraft, a student of Indian lore, Thomas Say, an illustrious zoologist, Dr. Troost, the geologist, and Madam Fretageot, trained in the Pestalozzi school in Switzerland. *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>7</sup> McClure was a Scotchman, who had come to America to make a geological survey of the United States. He won, in consequence, the title of Father of American Geology. He was chief founder of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences and served it as president for twenty-three years. He was one of the first men ever to sense the value of industrial education and founded an agricultural school in Spain on ten thousand acres which he afterwards lost because of a political revolution. He and Owen met at New Lanark, whither he had made a pilgrimage to study that model factory community. *Ibid.*, 258-9.

turning from a vain quest to Mexico for health, he directed his last philanthropy to linking together his two pet projects—education and the working-man. By the provisions of his will, his executors were to donate \$500 out of his property<sup>8</sup> to any club or society of laborers who might establish in any part of the United States a reading and lecture-room with a library of at least one hundred volumes, laborers being defined as those "who labor with their hands." Over one hundred and sixty<sup>9</sup> libraries sprang up accordingly in as many counties of Indiana and Illinois,<sup>10</sup> but nearly all were short-lived, for they were formed with a view only to getting the proffered donation, and were even often inspired by an agent who was interested to the extent of securing his fee for the selection and purchase of the books. However, some eighty thousand dollars were thus distributed.<sup>11</sup>

The city of La Porte has shared in the munificence of the first of library founders. In the early spring of 1867<sup>12</sup> an in-

<sup>8</sup> The list of McClure's holdings makes interesting reading: 10,000 acres in New Harmony, over a million reals in Spanish securities, a house in Alacante, the convent of St. Gives, an estate of 10,000 acres in Valencia, a convent and estate at Grosmano, the estate of Carmen de Croix, 41,000 francs in French securities; notes, and mortgages on properties scattered from Big Lick Plantation in Virginia to parts of England, France, and Spain; also his vast collection of prints and minerals; and nearly 2,000 copper plates of engravings. *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>9</sup> G. B. Lockwood in *The New Harmony Movement* lists 160, but the list is defective as it fails to name the library in La Porte and hence may have missed other McClure libraries. *Ibid.*, 325-7.

<sup>10</sup> A brother and sister of McClure had assumed the estate, as they had been advised that the trust was void because it had been created for the benefit of corporate bodies not yet in existence. However, a young attorney of Posey county fought the case and secured the establishment of an administratorship with the result that in 1855 the distribution of the allotted sums began. *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>11</sup> Most of these libraries were foredoomed naturally to early extinction as there was no requirement of a competent custodian, suitable quarters, or endowment to replace worn-out volumes. Most of the books eventually found their way to attics or basements to be eaten by mice. Add to these defects the fact that the preliminary libraries required were usually composed of old books of all sorts hastily gathered together and of little practical value; add still further the fact that the Civil War soon took away many of the members of the associations, and you have a sufficient array of causes fatal to the plan. The one notable exception to the rule of early decay is that of the library at New Harmony itself, where the Rappists, after repurchasing their old church, gave the wing to be used for the Working Men's Institute Library, and where the large bequests of Dr. Murphy, a citizen, have saved the library. For a fuller account of this entire movement see Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, 322-35.

<sup>12</sup> My two authorities differ as to this date. W. Niles, *Historical Sketch of*

tered agent came to La Porte, endeavoring to organize a McClure library. He finally applied to some of the railroad men<sup>13</sup> from whom he met with a sufficient measure of success to fulfill the conditions of the will. He delivered about three hundred dollars worth of books, charging the balance of the five hundred dollars as compensation for his services. Membership was confined at first to railroad men. After the library had been kept for some time in an office of the machine-shop of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad Company, it was transferred to the carpenter-shop. The hope of a larger membership and of an increased circulation prompted the removal of the library up-town to a rented room in the second story of one of the business buildings, but interest lagged and the institute was soon in arrears for rent.<sup>14</sup>

The directors of the La Porte Reading-Room and Library Association promptly saw the opportunity of materially increasing the number of their volumes by entering into negotiations with the Working Men's Institute. The terms of the agreement which was soon reached conveyed to the new association the property of the old upon payment of the debts of the institute, which amounted to fifty-six dollars.<sup>15</sup> This accession gave the new enterprise a permanent footing at once, enabling it to start with seven hundred volumes, many of which were well-selected works on history, poetry, science, travel, and fiction, while there were also a surprising number of Congressional documents.<sup>16</sup> Although most of these vol-

*the La Porte Library and Natural History Association, 3-4, says August 16, 1856; Jacob Zook in a manuscript letter preserved in the library says the spring of 1857.*

<sup>13</sup> La Porte was at that time a section point on the Lake Shore and Michigan Central Railroad and filled with railroad employees.

<sup>14</sup> The few facts given above are based on the manuscript letter of Mr. Zook already alluded to and on the verbal authority of Mr. William Fargher who took care of the books and nailed them up upon their removal from the railroad office.

<sup>15</sup> The original contract is deposited in the La Porte Library, together with a printed copy of the constitution and by-laws of the McClure Working Men's Institute. In case of dissolution of the new organization, the property was to revert to the McClure Association. The grant to each of the members of the Working Men's Institute of membership in the new library association for one year enumerated by Packard (p. 107) must have been by mutual verbal understanding, as it does not appear in the manuscript contract.

<sup>16</sup> A catalog of the McClure library, printed in 1860, is still extant and shows a very well-selected list for the time of 520 volumes. In the field of history appear such classics as Macaulay's *History of England*, Gibbons's *Decline and*

umes of the old McClure library have been rebound, some still reveal on the inside cover the label of the Working Men's Institute and in some the original catalog number still appears. Fully nine-tenths of these books are still preserved on the shelves of this library, although not widely circulated, probably a larger proportion of a McClure library than could be found anywhere outside of New Harmony.

On May 11, 1863, the board of directors submitted their first report to the association, finding much cause for encouragement in the possession of seven hundred volumes and twenty-nine newspapers, magazines, and reviews and in the occupation of the up-stairs rooms to which the Institute had removed in the vain hope of a renaissance and which the new association had taken over.<sup>17</sup>

But this encouragement seems scarcely to have been justified, as there were long intervals between the meetings from the date until the close of the year 1864.<sup>18</sup> The old officers were discouraged, but determined not to stand in the way of others who might be able to give new vitality to the organization and so on December 6, 1864, the officers and board resigned in a body to allow of the election of new. With the new blood there is unmistakable indication of new vigor. The board immediately appointed a committee of one to "prepare the reading-room for occupancy to tomorrow."<sup>19</sup> This mandate of expedition would seem to have been measured up to by the one lone member, as the minutes record routine meetings at the society's room from that date on. The association also promptly rechristened itself The La Porte Library and Natural History Association. November 6, 1865, the first movement was made by the organization toward securing for it

*Fall of the Roman Empire*, Rollins's *Ancient History*, and Fox's *Book of Martyrs*; in the field of poetry, such writers as Burns, Spencer, Shakespeare, Shelley, Milton, Moore, Pope, and Byron; and in the field of science, Darwin's works. Sixteen volumes of *Niles' Weekly Register* and one hundred and forty volumes of Congressional documents of the 34th and 35th Congress constituted a truly imposing array for this small library.

<sup>17</sup> The location of the library at this time rests on the authority of Mr. Niles.

<sup>18</sup> No meeting occurred from May 11 to October 26, 1863, on which latter date the minutes record only a very brief meeting; then again there is an absence of all interest until December 6, 1864. The journal in manuscript is deposited in the library.

<sup>19</sup> Packard, *A History of La Porte County*, 110-1.

self new quarters with the result that before the close of the month it was established in the post-office building. In January of 1868 a fire starting from the carelessness of the masons with their stove on the third floor of the post-office building resulted in damages to the property of the association in the room below to the extent of five hundred dollars. By that year the association had also outgrown the narrow confines of its original objects. It declared its purposes to be, in addition to the maintenance of a library:

to establish a system of instruction by lectures, to collect and preserve a museum of specimens in illustration of the natural sciences, and to furnish such other means of instruction and improvement as may be useful, practicable, and consistent with the above.<sup>20</sup>

The library made yet one more move before it came into permanent quarters of its own. When Dr. S. B. Collins erected his marble front building in 1871, he offered to the Library Association the free use of the five rooms of his third story for five years. The offer, accepted with alacrity and gratitude, provided spacious quarters for just about six months, for by July 1, 1872, Dr. Collins gave notice that he needed the rooms for his business, offering one hundred dollars a year toward the payment of rental elsewhere.<sup>21</sup>

This early period from 1864 to 1874 is, in some senses, the most interesting and most brilliant period of the history of the library. Life membership fees were fixed first at fifty dollars, which did not exempt holders from possible assessments of one dollar a year and later at one hundred dollars, which fee held out the lure of one certificate of stock in a non-dividend paying corporation; regular membership fees from five dollars to three per year; and the use of the library bestowed on all members of a family not in "independent businesses." Early in its history it was open from ten in the morning to noon and from seven to ten at night on two days per week, though the reading-room was open daily except Sun-

<sup>20</sup> Constitution, as amended August 4, 1868, Art. II, sec. 1. Here, as so often, it was the devotion of a few persons which saved a good cause from wreck. Dr. G. M. Dakin served as president from May 1, 1865, to 1897 with only brief intervals of relief.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes of the *Journal*, 49.

days from eight in the morning until noon, from one to six in the afternoon, and from seven until ten in the evening except during the winter months when it closed earlier. But by 1872 the board had reached such liberality as to open the library on Sunday afternoons, as an experiment.<sup>26</sup> The more conventional hours of nine in the morning to nine at night were still in the distant future of 1897. Non-subscribers were admitted to the reading-room on payment of five cents each time, providing always that "strangers temporarily stopping in the city" be shown favorable discrimination.

But that which sheds real lustre on the period is the means whereby the association was financed, for until 1882 it was without invested funds, dependent wholly on membership fees and the wits of its officers. A strawberry festival is recorded as having netted May 19, 1877, \$23.83; October 2, 1871, an art gallery exhibition and promenade social was determined upon, for which the Philharmonic Society and Mannerchor were to be solicited for music; June 3, 1873, a committee being created to sponsor an ice-cream festival; November 3, 1873, the public was invited to meet the board in order to arrange a masquerade ball, which left the members rejoicing with \$176 to add to their treasury. But these are the conventional small-town fêtes of the period. Where the association conferred a real benefit upon the community was in the distinguished lecturers which the board brought to the town in its annual lecture courses covering a period of twenty-five years. The list contains such speakers as Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Bayard Taylor, Benjamin Taylor, Horace Greeley, P. V. Nasby, Susan B. Anthony, George Thompson, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna E. Dickinson, Clara Barton, and Mrs. Scott Siddons. The public could scarcely have complained of exploitation even in a good cause when course tickets of four lectures were offered at one dollar, single admissions thirty-five cents. Each of these years during this interval brought donations of books, which meant a steady, if not rapid, growth in the size of the

<sup>26</sup> This experiment was voted August 9, 1872, with the careful proviso that the librarian's salary should be increased from \$3 a week to \$4. The experiment ceased on October 6, 1873.

library, until by 1874, it numbered between two and three thousand volumes. Perhaps the fact that the rooms were crowded every night with readers explains the strange "calumny" which an early writer felt called open to repudiate that "we are a political institution."

The efforts to have the library in a permanent home constitute a dramatic chapter in its history from 1874 to 1876. First came the General Orr proposal. He offered to purchase from the Presbyterians their old building and grounds, together with the half-lot adjacent, if it could be purchased for not more than four thousand dollars, and to present it to the association on condition that the structure be preserved to promote the objects of the association, that that organization add a brick addition, and that six thousand dollars or more be raised by the citizens to aid in improving the grounds and in increasing the library and the specimens. Active measures were taken to raise the requisite sum by volunteer subscriptions, no small feat to accomplish in a town of small property-owners between February 21 and May 12. Just at this juncture an unfortunate disagreement between the donor and the board in regard to the arrangement and the repair of the building and in regard to the manner in which the fund should be expended led to a rupture and the reconveying of the property to General Orr.<sup>34</sup> But most of the subscribers were agreeable to allowing the money to form a fund for the purchase of a suitable site when opportunity presented.

Somewhat more than a year later came the second proposal, which seemed to promise a permanent abiding-place. In August, 1875, a prominent banker and property-owner of the city offered to sell the association a corner section for two thousand dollars with a donation of several hundred dollars in money and fifty thousand bricks for the building. But this proposal also came to shipwreck, as the board by November of that year had reached the wise conclusion of rejecting the

<sup>34</sup> A cut of General Orr's proposed building appears in an *Illustrated Historical Atlas of La Porte County*. The fantastic row of open-air arbors and reading-tables suggests rather Parisian cafés than sober library facilities. This episode left ill-feeling and years of indifference to the library, which it survived only by some fortunate bequests.

offer unless the conditions stipulated were withdrawn.<sup>35</sup> Again the lot was reconveyed and the money refunded to the association.

Success came at last through independent measures. May 1, 1876, the library board bought of the heirs of N. T. Place a lot centrally located for twelve hundred dollars, the heirs making a small donation to the association. By 1876 a simple but suitable two-story brick structure had been erected but with the almost inevitable concomitant of a debt of a thousand dollars fastened upon it.

The years from 1877 to 1897 mark another well-defined period during which the library lived in its own quarters as a private institution. With a debt of twelve hundred dollars on its hands the association was eager to pass on its responsibilities. Early in 1878 a new and especially-elected board leased the library property to the Young Men's Association, a business corporation, at a nominal rental of one dollar, the debt to be assumed by the latter association. But two years later the Library association found itself once more saddled with its old burden, as the Young Men's association canceled the lease. Accordingly, a group of a dozen of the leading citizens came to the rescue with a loan of a hundred dollars each for five years without interest.

By August, 1880, the board found itself without funds for current expenses and obliged to dismiss the librarian, but reached a strange solution by turning the library over to J. B. Holmes, who in return for the membership fees was to conduct the library, ostensibly for the benefit of the members, but practically for the benefit of the students of his business college. Oddly enough, the arrangement proved mutually satisfactory and was renewed yearly until his death, late in 1888, whereupon a similar arrangement was entered into with his widow and successively with several other people until 1897.

Though the interval from 1886 to 1896 marks a decline of interest in the association,<sup>40</sup> it brought relief from financial

<sup>35</sup> The deed stipulated that a two-story building be erected with a storeroom below, whereas at this time the board inclined to a one-story structure.

<sup>40</sup> The minutes record no meeting from May 1, 1886, to June 7, 1894, and again no meeting until January 26, 1896. The record of June 7, 1894, shows several women sitting on the board.

stringency through several fortunate bequests. The will of Aurora Case had in 1872 made the library heir to a farm of two hundred and seventy acres, subject to a life estate in his son, but it was only upon the death of the latter in 1882 that it became available. After the debts of the association were paid, it was possible to set aside \$4,300 as a permanent fund, the interest of which was devoted to the purchase of books. Within about a decade the association received a second bequest from the estate of Mrs. Nancy Treat, one thousand dollars in cash and a lot adjacent to the library valued at \$4,000.

But now appeared a desire to make the library a benefaction to the whole community—a public library. It was felt that the school children and the very element which most needed a library were deprived of its benefits, whereas it was the earnest desire of the members to make the books serve their widest field of usefulness.<sup>42</sup> Among the several state laws under which the change could be effected, it was held wise to select the law of 1881, which authorized the school board in cities of ten thousand inhabitants to establish a free public library in connection with the common schools and to levy a tax of one-third of a mill on each dollar of taxable property.<sup>43</sup> After several meetings of the association, to one of which prominent citizens were invited, and after long negotiations with the school board, it was voted on June 3, 1896, to convey all the property of the association to the city of La Porte after the building should have been remodeled and enlarged with the funds lying unused in the treasury of the association. A reading-room and children's room, added as wings to each side of the original building, transformed it into a more attractive as well as more commodious structure.

The board of education assumed control on April 23, 1897, with a small debt for unfinished work, which the city had agreed to assume provided that no tax were to be levied the

<sup>42</sup> To the librarian at the time, Mrs. Jennie Jessup, must go a goodly measure of credit for this important step.

<sup>43</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1881, chap. 27, Secs. 1-2. In 1899 the law authorized the board to levy one mill per dollar, but owing to local conditions, it was inadvisable to ask for more than one-half that amount. *La Porte Argus*, Feb. 14, 1900.

first year. This left the library without funds for books or rebinding. By the middle of the year 1899, the board was forced to dispense with the assistant librarian for six months and to close the library mornings. And during this period it was kept open only through the generosity of the members of the school board who turned over their salaries for its running expenses.

The only events which need to be recorded between 1897 and 1920 the next landmark in this library's history, are the erection of the La Porte public library into a government depository,<sup>44</sup> the acquisition of the library of Centre township, from which the librarian salvaged about three hundred volumes,<sup>45</sup> frequent contributions to the growing museums, and the gift of a complete file of the volumes of the *La Porte Herald*, one of the two city papers, extending over a period of sixty-five years.<sup>46</sup>

A third great landmark in the history of this library came, however, in 1920, an event which linked this little library to the last great benefactor of book-lovers and housed the gift of the first of library creators in one of the last gfts of the great giver of library buildings. Because of the crowded condition of the library,<sup>47</sup> which prevented the circulation of

<sup>44</sup> An almost complete set of government documents, dating from the beginning was sent from Washington and the library placed on the mailing list for future publications of the government. Unfortunately, the short-sightedness of the school board has recently forced the librarian to return most of these documents—to make room for more useful volumes! It is only to be hoped that some more appreciative library has become the new depository.

<sup>45</sup> Under an early Indiana law of 1832, certain lots in each township were set apart to be held by township trustees for libraries. For over twenty years the books which had been purchased for Centre township were stored in the Odd Fellows building, until in 1909 a newly-elected trustee in removing township effects to his office turned over the cases of books to the city librarian.

<sup>46</sup> The set includes a few volumes of the paper when it was known as the *Weekly Union*, 1856-65. From 1867-9 it was known as the *Union Herald*; in 1880 it joined with the *Chronicle*, a competitor, as the *Herald Chronicle*, of which there are only incomplete files. In 1889 it became the *Herald*, which name it has since retained unchanged. When, as it is to be hoped, the volumes of the *La Porte Argus*, now in the attic of the widow of a former editor of the only other newspaper in the city, are deposited in the library, the newspaper material on the history of the city and the county will have been preserved and made accessible for future historians. The *Argus* was established April 15, 1869. For convenience this fact is recorded here though the gift was made in 1922.

<sup>47</sup> The circulation was in 1915 51,638, an increase of one hundred per cent in five years. Funds now permitted the purchase of new books every month, but even the creation of temporary shelves did not meet the need. *La Porte Herald*, April 6, 1916.

hundreds of books, the superintendent of the public schools suggested that effort be made to secure a Carnegie library. An appropriation of \$27,500 was obtained to which the city was allowed to add \$10,000, and after tedious delays, due to the war and consequent building conditions, the new structure was erected, scarcely half a square from the old, and opened on November 6, 1920.

But interesting as is the library itself, it is its museum which probably entitles the library to a unique place among small town libraries in the central west. It was started, as has already been suggested, in 1868, only a few years after the library movement was launched, with a cabinet and collection of minerals, ores, fossils, and shells under the inspiration of Dr. Higday, one of the directors, who was particularly interested in developing this department. At one time he fathered an excursion to the Indian mounds near the Kankakee river, where he unearthed for the association a large number of flint and copper implements, arrow-heads, pottery, and bones.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, Dr. Higday's intention to label and catalog these early specimens was not carried out because of his death in 1876, and hence the value of the collection has been to a certain extent lost. From one reason or another, various objects have found a depository in the library until it now houses a heterogeneous collection of stuffed birds and animals,<sup>49</sup> colonial relics, pictures of local interest but of no intrinsic value, reminders of pioneer days, and numerous objects of historical association. But that which makes the collection of real worth to La Porte is not the spinning wheels, exactly like hundreds of others in a more perfect state of preservation, not the baby-wrap made in 1839, not fans borne at the courts of Europe, nor even dolls dressed in Washington in the style of 1848 and sent overland in a pack on a man's back, as the label so carefully informs us, but the articles associated with the local history of the city. That which makes the past real to the people of that community are a

<sup>48</sup> Some of the specimens from this excursion were given to the Chicago historical society before which Dr. Higday read a paper descriptive of this expedition.

<sup>49</sup> A large and beautiful elk's head, a perfectly stuffed buffalo head, a pair of reindeer antlers could not be surpassed in the largest museum.

brick from the first saw-mill erected in the country, the surveyor's chain used in making the first survey of La Porte county, a book with wooden covers actually used in the first Sunday school of a village in the county, objects which recall the pioneer hardships of 1833 to 1850,<sup>50</sup> articles reminiscent of the community's connection with the Civil war, objects of local interest and pride—but all associated with names well-known in the county.

One collection will undoubtedly confer on the museum real distinction, as it ranks with the two or three finest collections of its kind in the United States. W. A. Jones, a retired iron-worker of Chicago, left his collection of arms, numbering over nine hundred pieces, when he died in June, 1921, to the city on condition that provision for its proper housing in the Carnegie library or in an addition thereto be made within a year, in default of which the collection was to go to the Field Museum in Chicago. Mr. Jones had traveled widely and had spent more than a quarter of a century in collecting these pieces, which represent firearms of all ages, among them some very rare and valuable antiques. The monetary value has been roughly estimated at \$90,000,<sup>51</sup> and the educational value to the student has been greatly enhanced by a card catalog pre-

<sup>50</sup> A wooden cradle made in 1841 enlists special interest because one of the six children rocked in it still lives in the city. A hickory flail suggests the far cry from our motor-driven separators. A pair of saddle bags recalls the sad fate of young Copelin who had returned to Virginia to pay for the new land which he was about to purchase in La Porte county. His too free tongue at the inns on his road back led to his being followed and murdered only one mile from his brother's home near La Porte. The hanging of the murderer, we are reminded, was the first to occur in the county. A local call to enroll in the Twenty-first Battery over the signature of a Captain Andrew who still lives in the city is dated Sept. 8, 1862; caps and arms worn by La Porte men in the Civil war are displayed; and a saddle used by one of the residents on his entire march with Sherman from Atlanta to the sea makes history live. A firemen's silver water pitcher never fails to awaken the pride of the older men in their local volunteer fire department. During the decade 1870 to 1880 tournaments and contests between hose companies were popular. La Porte's *Old Wide Awakes* used to participate in these contests with great success. In 1875 the company was presented by its honorary members, some of the leading citizens of the city, with a silver water pitcher devised in a form to suggest the company, as the lid is surmounted with a fireman's helmet, and the front of the pitcher bears a shield, and an engraved hose-cart. The monograms W. A. H. (Wide Awake Hose Company) appear on each gold-lined goblet. After being tossed around for years with no appreciation the pitcher, reminiscent of a certain phase of development of the city, was suitably brought to the library.

<sup>51</sup> Although the price of each piece is recorded in the card catalog, it is in cipher.

pared by the collector himself, which reflects the great pride and enthusiasm of the collector.<sup>54</sup>

Here are to be found Chinese ceremonial halberds once used in Buddist temples, a Japanese war scythe, fourteen and a half feet long, an elephant spear, a long narrow-bladed Congo spear, a Ceylonese scimitar; a Spanish bull-fighter's sword; and old flint-lock rifles. Historical interest attaches to some of the pieces, such as a revolutionary musket of the Brown Bess type; a muskatoon used in cavalry service in the Civil war; a rifle said to have been made for Theodore Roosevelt and stolen by one of his guides who sold it to an old trapper; a Bullard repeater used by surveyors for both the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads; a rifle said to have belonged to a Modoc chief; a Royal Mail Coach pistol, said to have been used in colonial days between New York and Philadelphia;<sup>55</sup> a navy revolver used by a marine on the Confederate steamship, Florida;<sup>56</sup> and a mitrailleuse used in the Franco-Prussian war.

The evolution of many of our fire-arms may be traced by a study of this collection. For instance, the Henry rifle, from which the Winchester evolved, is represented;<sup>57</sup> the Porter revolving rifle; the Sharps Patented sporting rifle of the days before the machine-made rifle; the Hallbreech-loading gun, the first on the market; Ruthe's trap pistol of 1857—this model rare because of the presence of a handle; Colt's house pistol, the first pistol made with a cylinder of four chambers;<sup>58</sup> a Japanese match-lock pistol which antedates the first flint-lock; a pair of famous Wilkes duelling pistols; a Trantor used

<sup>54</sup> The catalog records only six hundred and nine pieces and should be completed.

<sup>55</sup> When the British took New York in 1776, they confiscated all the arms they could take, and those not suitable for the army were sent back to England to be sold at auction. The set in this collection, purchased by a clergyman, was preserved in his family until the death of the last descendant only recently. The arm can be identified as of colonial manufacture, as it lacks the broad narrow marks of the English makes.

<sup>56</sup> The initials carved on the handle, J. S., C. S. A., S. S. Florida and a flag justify this conclusion.

<sup>57</sup> This was the first of the under-loading lever type, also the first with the full-length loading magazine. Thousands were used in the Civil war, the demand exceeding the supply. A regiment armed with them was considered fortunate.

<sup>58</sup> Jones's own comment on the pair which he secured, which are engraved in relief, inlaid with gold, stocks inlaid with silver with Turkish characters on the stocks is well merited.

in the Civil war; a Colt army revolver made for service in the Philippines with extra large trigger guard to be used with gloves because of the thorns; and a Wheellock, a type used in the seventeenth century and so-called because the lock must be wound with a key before firing, all are to be found here.

Many are the pieces which the owner regarded as "one of the rarest pieces in my collection": a revolving rifle with a brass-nickled frame inlaid with fancy brass figures; a rare old coach blunderbuss, the lock carved with Arabic characters; a Swiss hand-carved blunderbuss, clearly made in Europe, doubly rare because of the oval muzzle, a piece only duplicated in Sawyer's collection in the Boston museum; an East India match-lock with elaborate carving on the barrel, said to have belonged to a prince, who paid a fabulous sum for it; an old-time Turkish blunderbuss; a three-barreled percussion shotgun; a single-shot, breech-loading, hammerless rifle; the only one Jones ever knew; pistols inlaid with ivory, with mother-of-pearl, with gold or with silver; a magazine pistol fed by gravity; a four-barrel flint-lock, picked up in the Thieves Market of Mexico City; a pepper-box with a barrel eleven inches long in one piece, revolving only by hand; and a Japanese percussion pistol, a pretty conceit as it is a combination of pistol and writing outfit.<sup>58</sup>

The present librarian dreams of two more changes to round out a long period of service extending over twenty-three years. She desires to see the present incorporation under the school board forsaken for the wider field of usefulness which the library may serve by incorporation under the county library law of 1917.<sup>60</sup> Already the library has a number of subscription members outside the city, practically all the county teachers paying the fee exacted of all except residents of the city of La Porte. This progressive step would enable this library to help solve the rural library problem and help strengthen one of the weakest spots in the organization of the smaller schools of the state of Indiana—lack of library facilities. Township libraries have proved uneconomical and

<sup>59</sup> The writing-brush is carried in the barrel of the pistol. the ink-well in the rear of the hammer with a hinged cover.

<sup>60</sup> Thirteen counties in Indiana have availed themselves of this plan.

inefficient, as certain general books are duplicated, and rarer books cannot be indulged in because of the expense, while the overhead expense of underpaid, underworked librarians is a constant, unnecessary drain. The county library, on the other hand, means better service, economy in methods of purchase and supervision; and a common fund for expensive and technical books. The cost spread over a whole county is nominal.<sup>81</sup>

The second dream is an annex beside the main library building with a curator to arrange, classify, and label the large, valuable, but now badly-classified collections in the museum and thus enlist the interest and deepen the pride of each citizen in his local history.

<sup>81</sup> See the article by W. J. Hamilton in the *La Porte Argus* Jan. 25, 1921.

## Dr. John Evans

By J. WESLEY WHICKER, Attica

Many of the first families to settle in the northern portion of Fountain county, particularly in Attica and vicinity, came from Waynesville, Warren county, Ohio. Among those emigrants who came to Attica about 1839 was Dr. John Evans. He had graduated at a medical college in Cincinnati, Ohio, and had practiced less than a year at Ottawa, Illinois. He was a brother of Mrs Wilson Claypool, who lived about three miles south of Attica, near Shawnee creek on Shawnee prairie, and he had a very extensive colony of friends and acquaintances. He soon built up a lucrative practice in his profession. About 1840 he built a very good residence on Perry street, about two blocks from the business district, and this building remained until 1879. In 1841 he built an office in which to conduct his practice. This building still stands on Main street and is occupied as a grocery store. When Dr. Evans practiced in Attica there was no railroad or water way other than the Wabash river and many of the farmers in this locality made occasional trips to Chicago with the products of the farm, returning with manufactured goods, preferring this to the more arduous trips to New Orleans by flatboat. Some of the goods were hauled to Chicago by ox teams and some by horses. There were grist mills, saw mills, packing houses and distilleries along the Wabash river in every direction from Attica and the products of the packing houses, flouring mills and distilleries of this locality were quite often hauled overland to the city of Chicago and exchanged for merchandise. On one of these trips Dr. John Evans joined some of his friends and was favorably impressed at once with the possibility of the growing city on the lake. He pictured its future so vividly and told his associates of the great future in store for Chicago, and, though they listened indulgently to his predictions, they considered him much of a dreamer; but he was more than a

dreamer. He was a dreamer who tried to make his dreams come true. One day, when the spirit of prophecy was upon him he declared to a group of his fellow townsmen that before he died he intended to build a city, to found a college, to be governor of one of the states of the union and to go to the United States senate, to amass a fortune and make himself famous. His friends had heard him prophesy so often that they half way believed some of his prophecies and this one impressed them so much that it was so often repeated that it became a part of the local folk lore. In about 1840 Dr. Evans and his wife became very deeply interested in Dorothy Dix and her gospel of humane and scientific care for the insane and imbued with the idea that the insane should be cared for at the expense of the state. In the fall of 1841 William G. Bales, then the sheriff of Vermillion county, Indiana, placed his mute son in the Ohio institution. When he took his son there he became very much interested in the enterprise of educating the deaf and dumb and the next year he was elected to represent his county in the legislature. Dr. C. V. Jones of Covington, Indiana, was the family physician of William C. Bales. Dr. Jones was well acquainted with Dr. John Evans and his wife and their interest in the state providing asylums for the blind, mute and insane. Through Dr. Jones Mr. Bales and Dr. Evans became acquainted. In 1842 James McLean, a mute, commenced a school in Parke county. This school was continued for more than a year, but at no time contained more than six pupils. William Crumpton of Attica, Indiana, then one of the leading merchants, was a patron of the McLean school, and Mr. Crumpton and Dr. Isaac Fisher of Attica and Dr. John Evans, Edward A. Hannegan of Covington and Dr. Caleb V. Jones, of Covington, and their wives made an organization to commence a united effort to carry out in the state of Indiana through its legislature the principles of Dorothy Dix, "that the state should take care of the mute, the blind and the insane." On January 5, 1842, Edward A. Hannegan representing Fountain county in the lower house of the legislature presented to the Indiana house the memorial of Dr. John Evans and Dr. Isaac Fisher of Attica, with a number of other petitions in relation to the establishment of an asylum for the

insane. Jacob P. Dunn says of Dr Evans in connection with his efforts to establish an asylum for the insane:

Later developments show that the moving spirit was Dr. Evans, who was one of the most notable men that ever lived in the state. He left a trail of beneficences, half way across the continent. He was born near Waynesville, Ohio, March 9, 1814, and was descended from one of the oldest Quaker families of Pennsylvania. His great-grandfather was a manufacturer of tools in Philadelphia and this handicraft came down in the family, his uncle, Owen Evans, being the inventor of the screwing auger. His grandfather moved to South Carolina but soon left there because of his objection to slavery and settled in the wilds of Ohio where he farmed and manufactured augers, until he retired with a fortune. His son David, Dr. John's father, was a farmer and John grew up on the farm with usual country school advantages, but when grown up he went to Philadelphia and took a course in the Clermont academy. He then began the study of medicine, and in 1839 he married Hannah Canby, a cousin of Gen. E. R. S. Canby, and they immediately located at Attica, where he soon acquired some reputation as a physician and financier. The memorial of 1842 was referred to the committee on education of which Dr. James Richey of Franklin, himself a prominent physician, was chairman. On January 23, 1842, Dr. Evans made an extended report setting forth the importance of the matter and quoting a report of the Ohio asylum from which he says, "We find that there have been applications made for the admission of thirteen insane persons from this state into the Ohio Insane asylum. These applicants have been refused for want of room. What burning shame should crimson the cheek of every Indianian on being informed of the foregoing fact in view of the facts and the great necessity of speedy action upon this important subject. The committee recommended the adoption of a resolution instructing the governor to correspond with the superintendents of asylums in other states and secure plans for buildings and other information, which plans and information he shall communicate to the next General Assembly, with recommendations on the subject of the immediate undertaking of the erection of an Indiana Lunatic Asylum, as he may think proper."

This resolution promptly passed both houses, and was approved by the governor on January 31, 1842. The governor apparently did nothing, at least nothing of importance, and did not mention the subject in his next message, but on December 27, 1842, a second memorial from Dr. John Evans and Dr. Isaac Fisher, both of Attica, was presented suggesting the propriety of appropriating the Indiana share of the proceeds of the public lands to the erection of a lunatic asylum. This

was referred to the committee on finance which on January 2, 1843, reported its intense sympathy with the project, but with this most unhappy condition of so many of our fellow citizens before us, it is with much regret that your committee, owing to the extremely embarrassed condition of the finances of the state recommend a postponement of the further consideration of the subject. This was concurred in and the committee discharged, but the legislature showed its sentiment by a rather sharp resolution of February 13, 1843, declaring that delay in the matter was criminal and making it the duty of the governor to correspond and report as before directed, whereupon it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt proper measures for the immediate erection of a lunatic asylum in the state of Indiana.

Dr. Evans, Dr. Fisher, William Crumpton, Edward A. Hannegan and William C. Bales, of Vermillion county, nominated Dr. Caleb V. Jones of Covington for the state senate, and he was elected in the fall election of 1843 as a Democrat. This was a victory for the Fountain county doctors and their friends as it gave them a friend in the upper house of the state legislature in whom they had absolute confidence, and upon whose support they could depend. The representatives in the lower house from Fountain, Warren, Vermillion and Parke counties regardless of their politics, through the influence of Dr. Evans and Dr. Fisher, William Crumpton and Edward A. Hannegan and William C. Bales, were all pledged to the support of a bill to establish an asylum for the insane. Before the election of Dr. Jones there had been no active member in the upper house of the legislature to defend the bill, and when the legislature convened in 1843 the Fountain county advocates of the principles of Dorothy Dix for the care of the insane felt that they were now able to put up a determined fight and they attended the legislature in a body. A more determined body of politicians, with deeper convictions for a principle which they believed to be just and right never appeared before a law making body than was this representation from Fountain county. They were in direct correspondence with Dorothy Dix and in sympathy with her advanced ideas. Fountain county well may be proud of this splendid delegation.

In his message of December 5, 1843, Governor James Biger referred to this resolution and said this duty had been attended to and the documents and information, which have been collected, are in the possession of I. P. Smith Esq., who is preparing plans and specifications in relation to an asylum which will be ready to be laid before the legislature in the course of a few days. Smith was an architect at New Albany. The medical profession had resolved on a change of base, and, without waiting on Smith's report on December 13, a communication from James Matthews was presented in the senate and referred to the committee on education. On December 19 Senator George W. Carr, of Lawrence, reported from this committee deep sympathy and appreciation of the importance of the measure but owing to the great debt of the state and the heavy taxes, under the circumstances it would be inexpedient to legislate upon that subject at the present. But Drs. Matthews and Jones were in the senate and determined the bill should go through. On motion of Senator Buell the communication of Dr. Matthew was recommitted to the committee on education with instructions to report the probable expense of an asylum, the time it would take to complete it and all other matters thereto appertaining. This was followed by an invitation to Dr. Evans to address the legislature on the subject, also by a second communication from Dr. Matthews, which with the plans of Mr. Smith was also referred to the same committee. The upper and lower house of the legislature met in joint session to listen to an address of a private citizen on this important subject. Seldom, if ever, has such respect and recognition been paid to a private citizen by any law making body. Dr. Evans made an able presentation of the entire subject before the legislature and a large audience of citizens. It was printed in full in the *Sentinel*, December 29-30. The majority of the committee on education was convinced and on January 12, 1844, Dr. Richey reported for the committee urging immediate action and recommending a tax of one cent on the hundred dollars. The report was adopted and the tax levied. At the beginning of the next session Dr. John Evans was promptly on hand, supported by his friends from Fountain county, with another memorial. There was an

improvement in the situation. He still had his friends, Dr. Jones in the senate and Gov. James Whitcomb in the governor's office. He warmly espoused the charitable work, notwithstanding his anxiety to get out of the financial tangle. In his opening message he said:

While on this subject I desire earnestly to call your attention to the importance of providing an institution for the education of the blind and for the construction of the lunatic asylum. Modern philanthropy has happily devised the means of educating those who were deprived of sight and we should regard it as a sacred debt which we owe to these unfortunates to afford them the benefits of this benevolent discovery. It is now ascertained that insanity, the most terrible disease that afflicts our race, will in a majority of cases readily yield to medicine and kind treatment. If these means are resorted to in time its wretched subjects would thus be restored to the kindly charities of the domestic circles, to the benefit of society, and to their various relations, obligations and advantages as members of the state. Surely these unfortunate classes are entitled to our warmest sympathy and relief to the extent of our ability is called for by sound economy, by enlightened policy, by the gratitude that we owe to a merciful providence for our own exemption from these evils and by the obligation of religion.

The campaign of 1843 in Fountain county was a very active one. Dr. Evans, Dr. Isaac Fisher and William Crumpton, then the leading merchant of Attica, Edward A. Hannegan, Dr. Caleb V. Jones of Covington, and William C. Bales of Vermillion county were very active not only in securing the election of Dr. Jones to the state senate but regardless of differences in politics they were all supporting James Whitcomb for governor. In this campaign there was a great display of oratory. Governor Bigger was running for reelection. He was a graduate of Athens (Ohio) University, a distinguished legislator and judge, and an eloquent stump speaker. The Democrats nominated James Whitcomb, formerly a supporter of Clay. This was an agricultural community and the Democrats showed by the logic of statistics that workmen in the factories were receiving five hundred dollars per year while farm hands were receiving only two hundred thirteen dollars per year. There were at least twenty farm hands in this locality to one factory man. They showed that the farm products were not protected, but when such products were manu-

factured into goods, they were highly protected; that the farmers' wheat and corn were free, but the plow and other farm implements that they bought were protected. The best market for Indiana farmers was among the planters of the South; these same planters were being ruined by the high tariff. It was the first time that the protective policy had been challenged in Indiana and it created considerable alarm in the Whig camp. Edward A. Hannegan was a candidate for the United States senate. Andrew Kennedy, who was then in congress from the Muncey district, was raised in Attica, his father, brothers and sisters lived here and he had married the daughter of Phillip Weaver. There was a very large family of the Weavers here. Both of these families had formerly been Whigs but they were Friends and a part of the clientele of Dr. Evans. That element of the Whig party from this county which was supporting James Whitcomb for governor and Caleb V. Jones for the state senate gathered about Dr. John Evans as their political leader. As a result of this campaign Andrew Kennedy was returned to congress, James Whitcomb was elected governor, Caleb V. Jones was elected to the state senate from this district and the large majority for the Democratic ticket, at that election, in this part of the state, was credited to the influence of Dr. Evans. When he appeared before the legislature in 1843 to continue his efforts for the establishment of an asylum for the insane and schools for the mutes and the blind at the expense of the state, he was not only acquainted with the state officers in charge, but they were all deeply indebted to him. The handicap he had encountered in his previous efforts was now gone. During the session of the legislature of the years of 1843 and 1844 Dr. Evans and his wife spent the winter in Indianapolis. Upon his return to Attica in the spring he presented his petition to the Masonic lodge and was made a Mason by Attica lodge number eighteen, June 28, 1844, and was demitted June 17, 1845. When Dr. Evans was a young man in Ohio one of his friends and associates was Henry Benson. Henry Benson was related to the Campbells, who lived in the Bethel neighborhood. In 1838 Henry Benson was visiting his relatives here and there was a great revival meeting at the Methodist church at Bethel. He was only a boy, but he became very much inter-

ested in this meeting and went back home and united with the Methodist church in Ohio. The Campbells in Bethel neighborhood also came from Waynesville, Warren county, Ohio. Henry Benson afterward graduated from DePauw University. In 1840 and 1841 Henry Benson visited his friends and acquaintances in the neighborhood of Attica and among them was Dr. Evans and his wife. He preached at Attica and Bethel, and through his influence Dr. Evans and wife united with the Methodist church in Attica. Both Henry Benson and Edward A. Hannegan were personal friends of Bishop Matthew Simpson, and through them Dr. Evans, after he had united with the Methodist church at Attica, became acquainted with Bishop Simpson.

In the year of this campaign of 1843 William Willard, a mute from the east, learning of the interest in Indiana in public maintenance of charitable institutions, visited this state and established a school for his fellow defectives. Now with Dr. Evans well established in the political circles of the state, Willard's work was looked upon with favor, and in 1844 the state opened the school with Mr. Willard in charge. Such men as Henry Ward Beecher, Bishop Matthew Simpson and Dr. Evans took an active interest in the work. A site for the school consisting of one hundred thirty acres near Indianapolis was purchased in 1846. In 1850 a spacious building was erected. The school has been entirely successful and still flourishes.

The organization of Whigs that gathered about Dr. Evans in the election of 1843 in Fountain, Warren, Vermillion and Park counties had practically all of them descended from the same Quaker stock that came from North and South Carolina to southwestern Ohio, and a great many of them had a birth-right in the Quaker church. Perhaps two-thirds of them between 1835 and 1845 had united with the Methodist church. There was a great religious awakening, particularly among the Quakers and the Methodists in this locality, from 1840 to 1844, which probably extended over large portions of the state. Logan Esarey says:

The Whig junto at Indianapolis was driven from power, after a continuous administration of eighteen years. The Methodists and Pres-

byterian churches deserted the Whigs, especially after it became apparent that Clay was to be the candidate in 1844. As soon as Garrison was dead, Clay and his followers began squaring away for the race in 1844. A barbecue in Clay's honor was prepared at Indianapolis, October 5, 1842. Delegations from all parts of the state visited the capitol to hear their leader. It was determined to conduct a campaign along the old lines. Van Buren was the only Democratic candidate above the horizon at that time. Had he been the candidate in 1844, the plan of the Whigs might have been carried to success, but, as it turned out, their course was fatal. Such men as Robert Dale Owen, Joseph A. Wright, Andrew Kennedy, James Whitcomb and John W. Davis preached a new democracy, and were more than a match for the old Whigs. They pleaded for human rights, individual liberty, private initiative; that it was more the duty of the state to care for the unfortunate, the feeble, educate the children, and foster individual development than to concern itself entirely with aiding bankers, manufacturers and transportation companies.

Senator William Allen came from Ohio to canvass for the Democrats and here is a fair sample, says Esarey, of the eloquence of the young Democratic speakers in the campaign of 1843-44:

Democracy is a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised; it knows no baseness, cowers at no danger, oppresses no weakness. Fearless, generous, humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor and sympathizes with the humble; it asks nothing it will not concede, it concedes nothing it does not demand. Destructive only to despotism, it is the only preserver of liberty, labor and property. It is the sentiment of freedom, equal rights, and equal obligations.

With the charitable, religious and reform sentiment espoused by the Democrats and cherished by the Methodists, Presbyterians and Quakers in this locality; with such men as Solon Turman, Andrew Kennedy, Edward A. Hannegan and Gen. Tilghman A. Howard speaking in Fountain, Warren, Vermillion and Park counties, it was an easy matter for Dr. Evans to secure the support of his friends and acquaintances of the Democratic party in these four counties. In addition to this was the candidacy of C. V. Jones of Covington for the state senate, the local interest in Attica in the political success of Andrew Kennedy and the desire on the part of both General Howard and Edward A. Hannegan to be the Democratic can-

dicate for the United States senate at the next session of the legislature.

This emphasis on religion, giving Governor Whitcomb credit for the utmost sincerity, suggests the possibility of an influence, perhaps unconscious, of church politics. As has been mentioned, Governor Bigger was defeated for reelection largely through the influence of the Methodists. Dr. Evans had become an intimate friend of Bishop Simpson and under his eloquent preaching had become converted and joined the Methodist church, of which he was thereafter one of the most zealous and useful lay members. He was an able politician of the better class and it is hardly imaginable that he did not make himself felt in that campaign. At any rate, he was on the best of terms with Governor Whitcomb. His memorial and the part of the governor's message quoted were referred to the senate committee on education and December 28, 1844, Dr. Ritchy reported for the committee in favor of creating a commission to purchase a site and take charge of the erection of a buiding. An act for that purpose was approved January 13, 1845, making Dr. Evans, Dr. Livingston Dunlap and James Blake commissioners. They selected and purchased the Bolton farm west of White river, which had been made historic by its "Mount Jackson Tavern" presided over by Sarah T. Bolton. They wanted more light before adopting plans, but had no "junketing" appropriation. Dr. Evans volunteered to visit existing institutions at his own expense and trust to the legislature to reimburse him. He went to all of the principal institutions of the country, consulted experts and reformers, including Miss Dix, and on June 22, 1845, reported the results to the commission, with admirable detail not only as to the general plan of a building but also as to the practical features of water supply, heating, drainage, ventilation and the like. This was submitted to the legislature with the commission's report. They had discarded the Smith plans, and had new ones made by John R. Elder, of Indianapolis, utilizing the information collected by Evans. By act of February 19, 1846, they were directed to proceed with the work; additional appropriations were made; and they were authorized to sell Hospital Square No. 22 and use the proceeds. The building

was begun promptly and pushed as fast as the proceeds of the tax would allow. Two wards were opened for patients in December, 1848, accommodating forty applicants and the remainder of the south wing was completed in the summer of 1849. The entire building, when finished in 1850, had cost \$75,000.

Dr. Evans continued with the institution until the summer of 1848. After the passage of the act of 1846 the commission felt the need of a superintendent of construction and decided that Evans was the one man for the place. He resigned from the commission to accept it and Dr. J. S. Bobbs was appointed in his place. Evans had removed to Indianapolis, where he had an extensive practice, in addition to his work on the building; but in 1845 he had been appointed a lecturer at Rush Medical college at Chicago and he foresaw the possibilities of that city, which he had first visited with some farmer friends who tried hauling produce overland to that point from Attica, instead of flat-boating to New Orleans. He removed to Chicago in 1848 and at once became a leading spirit there, his first move being the issue of a pamphlet combating accepted ideas on cholera and advocating strict quarantine as a preventive. He edited for a number of years the Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal and founded the Illinois General Hospital of the Lakes, later Mercy Hospital. He was instrumental in establishing the Methodist Book Concern and the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*. He was one of the promoters of the Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad, secured its valuable right of way into Chicago and was for years its resident managing director.

There is an old neglected cemetery in the southern part of the city of Attica. This for many years was the cemetery in which all of the first settlers of this locality buried their dead, and here are many silent messages of many forgotten incidents of interest. Seldom are there any visitors to this neglected graveyard and in the summer and fall it is a tangle of briar, bush and vine. Near the north side is a dilapidated iron fence enclosing a tangle of weeds and briars. The iron fence is set in a stone foundation. Everything about this little plot of burial ground shows that once there had been the touch of

fond memories and sweet recollections; that it was designed and erected by loving hands. In this tangle of briars and weeds and vines rises an imposing shaft, the largest that was ever erected in the cemetery, and three small marble stones. The following inscription is chiseled on the marble shaft, "Hannah R., wife of Dr. John Evans, born at Lebanon, Ohio, June 9, 1813; died at Chicago, Illinois, October 9, 1850." The three sons buried beside the larger grave died in Attica and the body of Mrs. Evans was brought overland in a wagon pulled by two horses from Chicago to Attica for burial.

In 1853 Dr. John Evans became the chief promoter of Northwestern University, and selected its site, which was named Evanston in his honor. By reserving a quarter of each block for endowment and making investments for it in the heart of Chicago he established its splendid financial foundation. He also endowed chairs to the extent of \$100,000 and was president of the board of trustees for forty-two years. He also got into politics as a city councilman in 1852-3 and did good work for the Chicago schools by securing the appointment of a superintendent of schools and the establishment of the first high school. He was an original Republican and ran for congress in 1855, but was defeated because he would not indorse the Knownothing doctrine. He had become a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, while at Attica, and as a delegate to the convention of 1860 helped nominate him for President.

The six years that Dr. Evans lived in Attica had more to do with directing and determining his future than any other period of his life. Here he became acquainted with Henry Benson, afterwards editor of the *Pacific Advocate*, missionary to the Indians in Oklahoma, and one of the most eloquent speakers and influential men in the Methodist church on the Pacific coast; Bishop Matthew Simpson and Solon Turman, who was state senator from this district in 1850 and afterwards judge of the supreme court of the state of Indiana; General Tilghman A. Howard of Rockville, Park county; James R. M. Bryant of Williamsport, Warren county; Henry S. Lane of Crawfordsville, Montgomery county; R. W. Thompson of Terre Haute, Vigo county; Albert S. White, United States senator of Lafayette, Tippecanoe county; Caleb B.

Smith; Gov. James Whitcomb; Andrew Kennedy; Robert Dale Owen; C. V. Jones; Edward A. Hannegan, afterwards United States senator; Dorothy Dix; Judge David Davis of Illinois and Abraham Lincoln. As long as he lived in Indiana and Illinois he never lost interest in Attica and every fall when the apples were ripe and the wild grapes could be gathered and the bitter sweet, the aster and the golden rod, and other fall flowers were in bloom and fruits were ripe, Dr. Evans would come to Attica to spend a few days with his friends. He would go to the woods and kill some wild game, and fish along Pine Creek and Shawnee, and then go back for another year of arduous work. He looked forward with great delight to the yearly visit with his friends and relatives and with equal interest they awaited his coming. He never lost interest in his friends and acquaintances here and they never lost interest in him. In 1860 he espoused the cause of Abraham Lincoln as a candidate for President of the United States on the Republican ticket. He appealed to his friends in Indiana and with the same trust and devotion that Fountain county had shown to him and his interests in the campaign of 1843 they answered again for the campaign of 1860. During the time that Douglas and Lincoln were having their joint debates over the state of Illinois Dr. Evans paid one of his annual visits to Attica and he and his Republican friends here attended one of these joint debates. Among those who went with him on this occasion was Ed. Town, George Worthington, Harry Brant, Luke Whicker and Dr. Alexander Whitehall. Dr. Evans and Dr. Whitehall were credited the honor of sitting on the speaker's stand as a guest of Abraham Lincoln to listen to the joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas. His friends here have always claimed that it was Dr. Evans who financed Lincoln's campaign for the nomination on the Republican ticket for President and assured him he need not be embarrassed in any way in that campaign or apply to anyone else for financial help; that he had never spent money with a freer hand or in a cause in which he was more deeply interested than the money that he would spend for Lincoln's nomination. He was a delegate from his congressional district to the Republican national convention in 1860. He was thor-

oughly acquainted with the politics of Indiana, with the politics of Illinois and the politics of Chicago, and it was largely through his influence and acquaintance assisted by Henry S. Lane of Crawfordsville and Caleb B. Smith of the Fourth congressional district that every delegate at that convention from the state of Indiana voted first, last and all the time for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. Indiana was the only state in the union that cast every vote in that memorable convention from first to last for Lincoln. It was said that he contributed very liberally toward the campaign fund for Lincoln's election. His contemporaries of 1840 to '48 showed some recognition of his relentless energy and conceded that largely due to his efforts that the Democrats won in 1843. In 1846 the insane hospital commissioners, James Blake, Drs. Dunlap and Bobbs, testified that he was the first to press the duty of making provisions for the insane upon the attention of the legislature in the state of Indiana. In 1847 Dorothy Dix visited Indiana and inspected jails and poor houses in half the counties of the state. She had by that time carried her crusade into many of the states and everywhere found them much the same. In Indiana she found the conditions better than the average. And in that year she wrote:

To the present superintendent of this excellent work, Dr. Evans, the citizens of Indiana owe a debt of gratitude which few can estimate because it is the few who have the opportunity of understanding the measure of his labors or ability requisite for devising and carrying out such plans as are comprised in the Indiana state hospital for the insane.

And now he had reached the place where his acquaintance and reputation were bringing him fast into the limelight as a national character. The state of Indiana, the state of Illinois and the city of Chicago recognized in him a man of integrity of purpose, generous to a fault, a statesman and a financier and no one knew his ability and appreciated him more than did Abraham Lincoln.

In 1861 Lincoln offered to appoint him governor of Washington territory, which he declined; but in 1862 he accepted an appointment as governor of Colorado territory, and became its active war governor. In 1865 Colorado elected him United States senator, and asked admission to the Union; but the

move was prevented in the hostility of President Johnson. He inaugurated the movement for Colorado Seminary, later the University of Denver, in 1863, and made donations to it to the amount of \$150,000. In 1869, when the Union Pacific built its line north of Denver, and refused to connect with that city, he secured the Denver Pacific land grant from congress and built the road from Denver to Cheyenne, 106 miles. Next he built the South Park railroad, and then started the Denver, Texas and Gulf to give the shortest possible line to the seaboard. In 1870, on the competition of the line to Cheyenne, a state celebration was held at Greeley and Mount Evans was named in his honor—the name being formally confirmed by the legislature of Colorado in 1895, on his eighty-first birthday. Such was the monument prepared for him when he died at Denver, July 3, 1897.

In the cause of humanity the battle of his life was fought, a part of the time a fierce and stormy conflict. He was one of the prophets of his age. Born in the gray twilight of the nineteenth century, his prophetic eye pierced through the intervening years to and beyond the golden twilight of the twentieth, and when he viewed man's progress and beheld his glorious destiny this matchless seer rang out the old and rang in the new. He stood by the side of the great emancipator and upheld his arms when he struck the shackles from four millions of human beings and gathered the chains that bound their limbs in his deft hands and stepped from the highest round in the ladder that reached the pinnacle of fame, into the portals of heaven, and laid those chains at the feet of his creator, a fitting gift to a just God. He had helped relieve pain and furnished aid to the weak, the mute, the blind, and the insane. In the cause of mankind, the relief of the suffering, in the education of the youth, in provisions for the aged, the battle of his life was fought. In a distant land the night of death closed over his eventful life, gentle and loving friends administered to him. If to love your fellow men more than yourself is good, then Dr. Evans was good; if to be in advance of your time, to be a pioneer in the direction of right is greatness then Dr. Evans was great; if to avow your principles and discharge your duty in the presence of danger and death is heroic, then Dr. Evans was a hero.

# Personal Politics In Indiana 1816-1840

(Concluded)

By ADAM LEONARD

## STATE POLITICS, 1828 TO 1840

Only twice under the old constitution did the people of Indiana vote for the President of the nation and the governor of the state in the same year. In the presidential year of 1816 they elected a governor but the legislature chose the presidential electors. The quadrennial presidential elections and the triennial governorship elections threw the two together again in 1828 and also in 1840. Naturally the national question became a greater factor in these years than in any other in the election of the governor but even then its influence was not nearly so great as in more recent times owing largely to the fact that the two elections did not occur on the same date. The governorship election was held in August and the presidential in November. In other years the national question was scarcely felt at all in the governorship election.

Governor Jennings had been elected for a second term; Governor Hendricks had been sent to the United States senate, and it was generally expected that Governor Ray would be a candidate again in 1828. He announced himself as a candidate in April but made no mention of party or of his position in national politics.<sup>1</sup> Milton Stapp at the same time announced as a candidate for lieutenant governor. He also made no mention of national politics. The Jackson forces would not be satisfied with a neutral candidate. Even earlier than this the Jacksonian press had informally brought forward Dr. Israel T. Canby of Madison, a man of well-known Jacksonian sentiments, as a candidate for governor.<sup>2</sup> His candidacy had, however, not been seriously urged and when Ray announced it was rumored that Ray's correspondence with Jack-

<sup>1</sup> *Western Sun*, April 26, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Feb. 2, 1828.

son had converted him to the Jackson cause. Counter rumors were circulated, and the Jackson central committee to leave no doubt as to his position met at Salem June 28,<sup>3</sup> and adopted the preamble:

Whereas it has been represented that Major Henry S. Handy has recently received a communication from Governor Ray expressive of his sentiments on the presidential election favorable to the election of Andrew Jackson and it appearing that Governor Ray had denounced the party (Democrats) opposed to the reelection of Mr. Adams as "A violent atrocious faction which every good man ought to unite in suppressing."

This was followed by a resolution calling upon Major Handy to produce Ray's letter to him. Major Handy explained that a report had reached the central committee that Jackson's letter to Ray had completely converted Ray to the cause of Jackson. The committee believing this, had appointed a committee to wait upon the governor and find out the truth of the matter, and also whether he would allow his name to be placed upon the Jackson ticket as a candidate for governor. Major Handy being the chairman of that committee had written to Governor Ray and the letter in question had been addressed to Handy.

Ray writing under date of May 15, 1828, said:

I must admit that although I have constantly recognized a numerous corps of my old political and personal friends in the Jackson ranks, yet I was not looking for a concentration of the whole force of that formidable and respectable party in my favor, notwithstanding, I feel satisfied that my course better deserved the confidence and friendship of the friends of the general than that of either of those gentlemen whom you presume will be my competitors, viz.—Moore, Thompson or Graham—wishing never to subject myself to the charge of inconsistency in politics, I will give you a brief history of my cause and feelings in politics and the presidential question.<sup>4</sup>

He declared that Clay had been his first choice and Jackson his second but that he had determined to judge the Adams administration by its acts, that these were not bad, therefore he had determined to be neutral. He did not believe the charge of corruption against Clay or that Jackson was opposed to the

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, July 19, 1828, also the *Indiana Palladium*, July 12, 1828—the *Palladium* also withdrew its support from Ray.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, July 19, 1828.

tariff or internal improvements. He did not think that a Jackson administration would be different from the present. He concluded:

I am in your hands; dispose of me and my name as you in your wisdom think proper. I wish to be elected governor of the state on my merits. I shall not become a partisan but shall have no objection to receiving the united support of the Jacksonians. I shall not undo what they see fit to do in state elections, and will admit the election to be a test of strength. But must be permitted for the good of the cause to object to a publication before the election of the letter of the committee to me or my reply. By that course the cause will be weakened thousands in numbers. If you wish me to succeed by a great majority, leave me as much liberty as possible, allow latitude. It is enough for you to take up a man who is not against you and support him without drawing from him anything for publication to give offense to the opposite side, and he who allows himself silently or tacitly to be supported in your name stands committed by implication as strong as the Andes. You ought to have confidence in the man you support and not place him in an attitude that will weaken him.

Major Handy also submitted to the committee an extract from the Brookville *Repository* (date not given) which gave an extract from a speech two hours in length delivered by Ray in Brookville. It said in part:

Among the numerous subjects embraced in his excellency's address, the presidential question occupied a prominent position. With his course on this subject, under the existing circumstances, we could not coincide nor do we believe that it met the wishes of the people generally, as he practiced studied indecision or in other words refused to give his opinions on the question of the candidates of the high office of national executive, or to which, Mr. Adams or Mr. Jackson, he would give his personal support; assigning as his reason that he wished to avoid giving encouragement to either of the parties which now oppose each other on that subject, by lending them his name to aid in keeping the nation at that stage of high excitement which now agitates it. That as he conceived the present contest from the manner in which it is prosecuted directly calculated to destroy the liberties of a people and prostrate the free institutions of the country, it was his duty to keep aloof from both and employ his influence to assuage the storm; that measures and not men constituted his rallying point, and that whoever might be called to administer the government he was prepared to go with and support them so far as they pursued a correct policy, or in other words support of the American system.

The editor of the *Repository* did not agree with this attitude and sought the governor after the speech and put a series of questions to him from the Adams point of view. Ray in his answers declared: 1st. That the present administration was constitutionally established; 2nd. He did not believe the charges of bargain sale and corruption prepared against Adams and Clay; 3rd. The opposition to the administration is an outrageous and violent faction; 4th. It is the duty of every good man from the governor of the state downward to oppose such a faction.

Ray was a man who was not able to seize the "tide at its flood" or rather he belonged to the type of politicians who, "having eyes see not." Mere chance had made it possible for him to be governor. He had never been forced to risk a stand on an issue and he did not care to do so now. Moreover he could not see that the personality of political personages was being merged into party spirit. This induced him to stand alone and play a game of duplicity in bidding for the votes of both factions. In doing so he lost the support of partisans on both sides. The report of Major Handy to the convention determined the action of the Jacksonians, and one week later, July 5, 1828, Israel T. Canby announced himself as a Jacksonian candidate for governor. In his formal announcement Canby declared:

The election of Adams violated that fundamental principles of the republican form of government—that the representative is bound by the wishes of his constituents however known to him. The contest is therefore no longer personal but this important principle is involved—shall the people or their representatives who disregard the will of the people make the president.<sup>5</sup>

The administration forces had already brought out Harbin H. Moore of Corydon as their candidate for governor. The contest from now on was a three cornered struggle between the administration forces supporting Moore, the Jackson forces supporting Canby, and Ray as an independent candidate. Ray had the attacks of the other two factions aimed at him and was kept busy warding off their thrusts. On July

<sup>5</sup> *Western Sun*, July 19, 1828.

9th, writing from Bloomington he said he understood it was reported that he had written letters to friends of Adams saying he would vote for him and to friends of Jackson saying he would vote for him and that these letters have been or are to be published.<sup>6</sup> He declared that if such letters made their appearance they were base forgeries. In regard to the editorial in the Brookville *Repository* he said:

This I never did consent to. This publication grossly misrepresents me. I deny it as it appears in the newspapers. All editors in the state will please insert this in their papers.

He also promised to explain the circumstances and contents of Handy's letter from Indianapolis. Writing from Indianapolis under date of July 14, 1828, he tried to meet the charges of the Jackson central committee. He said:

Learning in the course of a few days past that the state is filled with lies and misrepresentations intended and calculated to destroy my election and myself forever, I feel it is a duty I owe to my political friends, to the state of Indiana and myself to step forth and meet the flood of calumny which my base political enemies are thundering in the ears of the people. All is kept quiet as the grave until a few days before the election, and then all at once a concerted attack is made on me from every quarter of the state, when it is impossible for me to go everywhere to explain.<sup>7</sup>

On the presidential question he said:

I was elected governor of Indiana when there was no party question and when I saw an attempt being made to divide the state into two parties, I determined I would not become the executive of one party to the exclusion of the other. Being elected by both parties I must continue the executive of both as long as my term lasts. Two great men have come in contact and we must choose between them. If I cannot be elected because I will not come out and abuse one or the other of these men I must fail.

He declared that he had always written uniformly well of both candidates and anything to the contrary was a base forgery. He denied having ever written letters to any one declaring that he would vote for either Jackson or Adams. He declared that Thomas H. Blake, candidate for congress in the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, July 26, 1828.

<sup>7</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, July 26, 1828.

First district, had been with him in ten counties and would tell the world that his cause had been uniform and that he had always been in favor of the present administration and had tried to show the people that they should be. He said that no officer to be elected next August should have anything to do with the presidential election; that there was no reason for making a question out of it; and that a man should be elected governor of the state upon his own merits and not upon popularity of another man.

In speaking of the immediate charges he said he was opposed at the last election by certain lawyers and political men, generally Adams men, and that these men declared opposition to him as soon as he was sworn into office. These men were again at the head of the administration party of the state, and last winter they had deliberately planned to ruin him. These administration men, at the time the two conventions met in January, had conferred with the Jacksonians and requested them to draw the line and bring out a candidate for governor, and then assured them that they would do the same thing and in that way they could have beat him on mutual ground. If they found they could not leave him out in that way that they would join with the Jacksonians and defeat him in that manner and if he became the friend of Adams they would bring out another candidate. He met the Handy letter by showing that the question was put to him by Jackson men and that he could not refuse their support while at the same time it was necessary that he maintain his independent position on the national question. He branded the charges in the Brookville *Repository* as absolutely false. The governor also tried by explanation to lessen the force of the expressions "outrageous and violent faction."<sup>8</sup> Both Editor Jocelyn of the *Repository* and Governor Ray procured affidavits to prove their side of the question. The editor asserted that the words were used and Ray, that they were not.<sup>9</sup>

Public speaking was more conspicuous in this campaign than in any previous one. But speaking, however, was done primarily by the candidates themselves. Ray mentions that

<sup>8</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, July 16, 1828.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, July 16, 1828.

Thomas H. Blake had been with him in ten counties. On June 1, we have notice that he had been in Lawrenceburg on the previous Tuesday,<sup>10</sup> on July 4, Ray and Stapp visited Vincennes. Ray, at a country dinner, made a speech two hours in length. Opinions of him were so varied that the Jackson paper refused to give its opinion.<sup>11</sup> Judge John Test, candidate for congress in the Third district, was in Lawrenceburg on July 4, and H. H. Moore on the Thursday previous. The open letters by the candidates scarcely appeared in this campaign. The letter of Ray in answer to the charges brought out by the Jackson central committee was the only one of note issued by the candidates for governor except the ones giving a formal announcement of their candidacy. Letters signed by fictitious names had also almost disappeared. There was only one of these worthy of note dealing with local affairs—that of “John Van Blaricum” originally published in the Indianapolis *Gazette* and copied by the press of the state.<sup>12</sup> It was an announcement as a candidate for governor given in bombastic language, after the style of Ray and was intended to make Ray appear ridiculous.

Since the candidate depended upon personal contact with the voters to make his impression upon them, Ray had the decided advantage over both Moore and Canby. He had been before the state for three years as its governor and had been about as successful as his predecessors. Also he had announced his candidacy early and was “on the stump” before either Moore or Canby became candidates.<sup>13</sup> Then the partisan question was not raised until so late in the campaign that it did not have time to gather momentum sufficient to turn the election. Ray drew his strength in proportionate numbers from each of the two party candidates and was elected by a vote of 15,141 to 12,315 for Canby and 10,904 for Moore.<sup>14</sup> Although Ray had won a personal victory in defiance of both parties it was due to the fact that state elections had never before centered about the national question, and because the

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, June 7, 1828.

<sup>11</sup> *Western Sun*, July 12, 1828.

<sup>12</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, July 5, 1828.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, May 24, 1828.

<sup>14</sup> *House Journal* 1828-29-30 and appendix A.

party candidates could not overcome the handicap of Ray's early lead in so short a time. Ray, however, was Indiana's last governor who professed to be independent of national politics. The national question did not enter the contest for lieutenant governor and Milton Stapp was elected over Abel C. Pepper by the close vote of 17,395 to 17,262.<sup>15</sup>

The presidential question entered strongly into the congressional elections. The struggle was most bitter in the First district. It began as early as January, when the *Western Sun* urged Samuel Judah to become a candidate.<sup>16</sup> It said in an editorial that it was the will of the voters and of a majority of the delegates to the Jackson convention that he be their candidate. By March the sentiment of the leaders was fairly well known and Judah realized that he could not win over Blake, who was then serving his first term in office. He accordingly withdrew from the race in favor of Ratliff Boone.<sup>17</sup> On the date of his withdrawal he addressed a letter to the Knox county vigilance committee in which he said:

It is undoubtedly the duty of the friends of the election of Andrew Jackson to endeavor to elect as their representative in congress men who will support all the rightful measures of his administration, when success shall have crowned our labors by his elevation to the presidency. To succeed in a party contest it is necessary to bring forward as a candidate that man who will unite the most of the party strength.

Two weeks later Ratliff Boone and Thomas Blake both formally announced themselves as candidates for congress.<sup>18</sup> Although their political preferences were well known, neither of them mentioned politics in his announcement. At the same time Samuel Judah announced himself as a candidate for the state legislature from Knox county. The struggle between Boone and Blake centered mainly about the presidential question. It, however, had its local aspects. The friends of Blake circulated the report that Boone while a member of congress had voted against the Wabash canal bill. They made considerable political capital of the story, but Boone soon silenced

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>16</sup> January 26, 1828.

<sup>17</sup> *Western Sun*, March 29, 1828.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, April 12, 1828.

them by securing statements from Jennings and Hendricks, who were in congress at the same time, stating positively that he had voted for the bill.<sup>19</sup> Boone also charged that he was unfairly beaten by Blake in the last election. Boone challenged him to prove it, and he published a statement of facts in an attempt to do so.<sup>20</sup> The quarrel continued, however, throughout the campaign.

While there was a distinct alignment on the party issues neither party declared himself as a party candidate. The vote, however, was rather closely drawn on party lines. Boone was elected over Blake by a majority of 91.<sup>21</sup> The *Western Sun* said of the election:

The presidential question operated no doubt upon this election. The friends of this administration as far as my acquaintance extends, presented an undivided phalanx in favor of Mr. Blake. The same cannot be said in favor of the friends of Jackson and it will not be denied that hundreds of them voted for Mr. Blake.<sup>22</sup>

In the Second district the party lines were not so closely drawn. Mr. Jennings again became a candidate. He had voted for Jackson in the election in congress, but his sympathies for the administration were well known. The Jackson forces supported John H. Thompson, but the popularity of Jennings was too much for them to overcome and Jennings was easily elected by a vote of 6,932 to 2,521.<sup>23</sup>

In the Third district O. H. Smith announced himself as a candidate for reelection early in the year (April 26).<sup>24</sup> His announcement was followed by that of Judge John Test on May 13,<sup>25</sup> and that of Jonathan McCarty on May 17.<sup>26</sup> Smith and Test were both administration men while McCarty was a Jackson man. While Smith was in the capital attending the session of congress Test was busy rallying his supporters of the two previous campaigns while McCarty was rousing up

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, June 21, 1828.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, \_\_\_\_.

<sup>21</sup> *Niles' Register*, October 11, 1828,—Boone received 7,345 votes to 7,243 for Blake.

<sup>22</sup> August 23, 1828.

<sup>23</sup> *Niles' Register*, October 11, 1828.

<sup>24</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, April 26, 1828.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, May 3, 1828.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, May 17, 1828.

the Jackson men to his own support. When Smith returned and became aware of the situation he realized that he could not be elected and in June he withdrew from the race. He gave as his reason that with three candidates in the field the one who should be elected would be a minority candidate. And if the minority should send a delegate to congress it would be contrary to the American principle of majority rule. He also left those who had been "circulating falsehoods" against him to their own reflections.<sup>27</sup> The campaign for election was made almost entirely along party lines, although the personal popularity of Judge Test no doubt affected the result, and Test was elected over McCarty by a vote of 6,415 to 4,985.<sup>28</sup>

We know but little about the details of this election to the state legislature. The retiring legislature had been largely composed of administration sympathizers. The senate contained 17 administration men and four Jackson men, while the house contained forty administration men, thirteen Jackson men and four neutrals.<sup>29</sup> There seems to have been a very strong tendency by both parties to avoid the national questions in this election. In Manchester township in Dearborn county a convention to select delegates to a convention of four townships passed a series of resolutions dealing with local conditions. The fourth resolution declared:

We will not be influenced by the presidential question in selecting our state representatives.<sup>30</sup>

Even Samuel Judah, who was perhaps the most radical Jackson man that served in the house of representatives in this period, did not mention national politics in his announcement as a candidate.<sup>31</sup> There were three candidates opposed to him and all of them confined their public utterances to local issues and personalities although Judah digressed far enough once to give his opinion on the tariff.<sup>32</sup> When the legislature met Judah and Isaac Howk, an administration man from

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, June 21, 1828.

<sup>28</sup> *Niles' Register*, Oct. 11, 1828.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1828.

<sup>30</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, March 10, 1828.

<sup>31</sup> *Western Sun*, April 12, 1828.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1828.

Clark county, were the candidates for speaker. Mr. Howk was chosen.<sup>33</sup> Party lines were now drawn never to be obliterated.

No one was less able to see and take the advantage of the rise of party spirit than the governor, James B. Ray, and his action hastened to drive local politics into national alignment. As soon as the elections were over he published an open letter or "statement of facts" in which he rehearsed the letter in reply to the charge of the Jackson central committee and then added:

It was also stated by me that if I were the successful candidate, after the election was over, should either party claim me as having been elected by them exclusively a statement of facts should be made. An extensive tour through the state and an intimate acquaintance with the policies of the people enable me to say that with great certainty though elected by a majority of 2,500 votes over my Jackson competitor, Dr. Canby, and by between 4,000 and 5,000 over my administrative competitor, H. H. Moore, I feel free to assert that I was not elected by the friends of either side in a party controversy. The votes I received were for governor of the state and not to effect any other purpose.

In his inaugural address he again touched on the subject. He said:

I entered into the late canvass at a crisis fraught with as much danger to candidates for office, as this country ever witnessed; at a time when the most fearful public excitement that ever agitated the country had risen to its acme; at a time when the rights of friends and consanguinity were swallowed up in the general fermentation of the day; at a time when the populace were laboring under the most splendid artificial delusion and madness that ever bewitched an intelligent society; at a time when the candidate appeared to possess no other merit or demerit than that he was the friend or opposer of one or the other of the two brightest stars in our galaxy of heroes and statesmen; and at a time when the voice of merit was literally stifled by the spirit of the party.<sup>35</sup>

In his first message to the legislature he again deplored the existing tendency in polities, in the statement that:

The treatment which candidates for office and public servants too frequently receive, from the highest to the lowest—the practice of saying

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, Dec. 20, 1828.

<sup>34</sup> *Niles' Register*, Nov. 1, 1828.

<sup>35</sup> *Indiana Palladium*, Jan. 10, 1829.

all manner of false and evil things about them—of slandering them without mercy—of attempting to bring them into disrepute—to destroy their usefulness—of questioning their motives—of misrepresenting their acts, private and official—deserve the unqualified animadversion of every friend to good government in the country—of every good friend to character—of the lover of justice, the lover of liberty and mind. Such wanton licentiousness must, in the process of time, induce talent, sensitive and modest worth to leave those public stations in the government, where they might honor and bless their country and themselves, to be filled by the ambitious demagogue, the designing partisan, and sometimes by the detractor of reputation himself. It is true that the public servant is the property of the people as far as it respects the free investigation of his conduct—is at all times subject to their legal will and sound discretion; but it can never be admitted that because he assumes the character of a servant, any of his rights can be invaded with impunity, his reputation plundered, his feelings lacerated without a palpable violation of the obligation that exists between him and his constituents.<sup>36</sup>

If we could remove from Governor Ray the extenuating circumstances and personal pique we would see in him no doubt a valiant type of that public servant who places service above mere puritanism, but the forces on both sides were pitted against him. The spirit of partisanship was running rampant and could not be checked until it embraced the entire political system. This spirit, however, was usually emphasized in the general and was concealed as much as possible in the individual cases. As an example the *Western Sun* speaking in general terms, said:

A continuation of the same demarkation of political parties which has existed ever since the establishment of our national government, seems upon the whole, the safest course for the preservation of peace, and the principle of union.<sup>37</sup>

And the Richmond *Enquirer* made an alignment of parties on the same basis as the old Federalism and Republicanism.<sup>38</sup> In the same county, the same paper printed the announcement of George Calhoun,<sup>39</sup> John McClure,<sup>40</sup> John C. Riley,<sup>41</sup> and

<sup>36</sup> *Niles' Register*, Jan. 21, 1829.

<sup>37</sup> April 4, 1829.

<sup>38</sup> *Western Sun*, August 22, 1829.

<sup>39</sup> May 9, 1829.

<sup>40</sup> April 13, 1829.

<sup>41</sup> April 25, 1829.

General W. Johnson,<sup>42</sup> as candidates for the legislature without any mention of party politics. Later in the campaign it declared in an open letter by "Observer":

As the first Monday in August approaches, I perceive in almost all the public journals, a list of names of candidates for office rapidly increasing in number and as the political sentiments of men are public property, it is but right that the people should demand of each candidate for office, and particularly the candidates for the legislature, an unvarnished declaration of his sentiments in relation to the present administration of the general government, and his views in relation to the next president. That two great political parties do now exist in the United States, whose feelings and sentiments are widely discordant, is too self evident to admit contradiction, is it not therefore in the nature of things to expect any individual whatever who may become a candidate for any important situation to aid in the support of both parties?<sup>43</sup>

There is, however, no sign of any legislative candidate declaring himself either as a Jackson or anti-Jackson man in this campaign. No candidates for minor office ever had done such a thing for many years, yet at the same time the partisan complication of the legislature became more and more marked each year. In this year the house of representatives became Jacksonian, and elected Ross Smiley, an ardent Jackson man, as its speaker.<sup>44</sup>

Notwithstanding Governor Ray's independent position and the tendency of his legislature to draw party lines, he did not come into conflict with that body until late in the session of the legislature of 1829-30. If we may believe the *Indiana Journal's* account of the controversy,<sup>45</sup> a short time before the session of the General Assembly closed, a bill was passed providing for the opening of a part of the Michigan Road. The bill originated in the senate and passed that body with the name of a very respectable gentleman as commissioner. In the house of representatives, the name of that gentleman was stricken out and that of Noah Noble was inserted in lieu of it. This was not done out of any disrespect for the gentleman originally named, but on account of a preference for Gen-

<sup>42</sup> June 6, 1829.

<sup>43</sup> June 13, 1829.

<sup>44</sup> *Western Sun*, Dec. 26, 1829.

<sup>45</sup> Copied in *Niles' Register*, March 27, 1830.

eral Noble, founded on an intimate acquaintance with him and a knowledge of his qualifications and also on account of his local situation which was thought to be particularly favorable for such an appointment. While the bill was pending in the house of representatives the governor was frequently in the lobby, electioneering against the insertion of Mr. Noble's name, declaring if it should be continued he would not sign it. The house disregarding these threats, passed the bill with Mr. Noble's name as commissioner. After it was reported to the senate with its amendment, the governor continued to exert his influence with the senators to have Mr. Noble's name expunged, using coarse epithets in reference to him and declaring, as he had before done, that he would not approve the law if the name were retained. The bill, however, passed both houses and was sent to the governor for his signature. After keeping the bill for two or three days he signed it and wrote at the bottom of the same page:

Indianapolis, Jan. 29, 1830

There are parts of this bill which my mind cannot sanction. The commissioner named in it I believe to be unworthy. If it had come into my hands at an earlier period of the session, it should have become a law if at all without my signature. But finding that the legislature is ready to adjourn without permitting it to remain in my hands five days I cannot consent to the sacrifice of money it must occasion to retain it. Therefore I must yield to the necessity of settling the Michigan Road question so necessary to the public and interest, even at the sacrifice of my own opinion.

JAMES B. RAY.

When the senate became aware of the remark it immediately passed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, that in the opinion of the senate the power of the executive over bills which pass both branches of the General Assembly does not extend to scribbling individual abuse upon them and that the indulgence of such propensity in the case of the bill for the opening of the Michigan Road is not only an uncourteous reflection upon the discrimination of the legislature but a manifestation of authority unauthorized by the constitution or official propriety.

This resolution passed by a vote of 17 to 5.

Ray and his senate were never again on friendly terms and neither ever allowed an opportunity to pass without attacking the other. The legislature passed a resolution at this session

requiring the governor to correspond with the proper authorities and ascertain as nearly as possible when and how the land donated by treaty and act of congress to the state of Indiana to open a road (Michigan) were to be surveyed and whether they were to be surveyed by the state of Indiana or the general government.<sup>45</sup> Ray apparently wrote to Mr. Eaton, secretary of war under whose department public lands were at that time managed but received no answer. The legislators began to murmur of neglect of duty on the part of Ray. He at once made an effort to secure evidence that he had done his duty. The new legislature which had not changed materially either in person or political complexion met on the 6th of December, 1830. Two days later Ray placed before the senate all his correspondence on the subject.<sup>46</sup> In doing so he complained that:

Some uncharitable persons in the public prints and elsewhere have insinuated that I have failed to do my duty with regard to this road grant, under the law of last year, out of hostility to the road or for other causes. With about the same propriety and without evidence they may charge me with the murder of my own child.

The next day (December 9) he sent another letter to the senate with the comment:

Can it still be said I have neglected this duty? Is the evidence I now submit sufficient to acquit me of censure?

Ray had promised the General Assembly early in his administration that he would codify all the laws that had been passed since 1824, and present them to the legislature before his term of office expired. On December 10, 1830, the senate passed a resolution, accompanied by a preamble giving a statement of facts, inquiring what progress he had made in collecting the laws.<sup>47</sup> Ray again showed his haughty and over-bearing disposition by curtly replying: 1. That he had procured a book and formed it in one hundred articles of law. 2. He would make no promises for the future. 3. This was his own undertaking and would not be placed in hands that

<sup>45</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1830, p. 38.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, pages 37 to 53.

<sup>47</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1830, p. 59.

would abuse it. 4. A work condemned in advance is not likely to receive a fair trial.<sup>48</sup> The quarrel again broke out when on January 8, 1831, the senate passed a resolution requesting the committee on revision<sup>49</sup>

to address a respectful letter to his excellency the governor soliciting him to return *Livingston's Louisiana Code* to the library for the use of the legislature during the present session of the General Assembly.

On the 10th Ray replied:

I have complied with the request of this resolution but not because I recognize in the senate the right to make such a call. The executive of this state considers himself bound by its laws and responsible for anything he does to the people of the state or their representatives; but not subject to the direction of a senate.<sup>50</sup>

Another cause for controversy was the appointment of judges of the supreme court. The seven years' term of the judges expired January 28, 1830. On January 27, the senate by resolution offered by Dennis Pennington, a former Adams man, requested the governor to nominate to the senate James Scott, Jesse S. Holman and Isaac Blackford.<sup>51</sup> The governor allowed the matter to rest until January 12, 1831, when he sent to the senate the nominations of Isaac Blackford, John T. McKinney, and Stephen C. Stephens as judges.<sup>52</sup>

His nominations were accompanied by a letter in which he declared:

The executive does not, however, acknowledge the right of the senate to interfere directly or indirectly with the nominating power, or as to the time of their presentation for reception or rejection.

The senate immediately confirmed the nomination of Blackford but rejected that of Stephens and McKinney.<sup>53</sup> On January 25, the senate justified its stand by a long report and a set of resolutions by a special committee.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1830, p. 63.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* p. 230.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* p. 249.

<sup>51</sup> *Senate Journal* 1830, p. 159.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* p. 255.

<sup>53</sup> *Senate Journal* 1830, p. 259-260-261.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* p. 347-355.

On January 28, the governor nominated Stephens and McKinney and the nominations were confirmed by a vote of 11 to 10.<sup>55</sup> The entire affair was complicated by the fact that Scott, Holman and Blackford were the judges whose terms were expiring, while Stephens and McKinney were members of the senate.

The three years' struggle between Ray and the legislature not only ended the career of personal politics as applied to the higher state officials but it ruined Ray both politically and professionally. When he retired from the governor's office he resumed the practice of law but received very little business. "He seemed to be run down at the heel" and although he was at the prime of life the public appeared to think him superannuated, as having passed his day of usefulness. In 1835 he became a candidate for clerk of Marion county and for a time appeared to make a lively canvass but before the election came off he gave up the conflict. He did not withdraw but he had no tickets printed and but few votes were cast for him. In 1837 he ran for congress in the Indianapolis district against William Herrod but received only 5,883 votes to 9,635 for his opponent. This ended his public career.<sup>56</sup>

By the time for the campaign for the election of governor in 1831, the party spirit had developed to such an extent that the candidate's worth was judged by his attitude toward the national question. In the campaign there was a vigorous activity throughout the party organization and an alignment of parties back of candidates but no candidate made the race on the fundamental principle of being a party man. On December 18, 1830, the Jacksonian members of the state legislature met at the governor's house<sup>57</sup> and passed a series of resolutions to the effect that all friends of Republicanism had confidence in Jackson and his administration. (2) They had the utmost confidence in him and his administration. (3) In the hands of an honest man the interests of all men are safe. (4) Accountability of public officials, payment of the public debt, and the equalization of the burdens of all classes of

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394-396.

<sup>56</sup> Woolen, Wm. W., *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Indiana*, 62.

<sup>57</sup> *Western Sun*, Jan. 22, 1831.

people are objects of primary importance. (5) They indorsed the president as a candidate for the next election. (6) They provided for the distribution of 5,000 copies of the President's message. They also appointed a standing central committee of twenty persons and instructed them to publish an address to the people of the state. This committee met immediately and provided for the appointment of county committees of five, also vigilance committees in every township in the state.

The anti-Jackson forces, however, had their candidates in the field before the Jackson forces did. Early in February General Noah Noble announced himself as a candidate for governor and David Wallace announced for lieutenant governor. Noble was one of the best known men in the state, he had been removed from the office of collector of public money in Indianapolis by Jackson, and had been the object of special attack by Governor Ray in the Michigan Road incident. He was well calculated to win support from both the anti-Jackson and the anti-Ray factions in the state. He is described by O. H. Smith as follows:

His person was tall and slim, his constitution delicate, his smile winning, his voice feeble, the squeeze of the hand irresistible. He spoke plainly and well but made no pretense to eloquence.<sup>58</sup>

Wallace was a promising young lawyer, a graduate of West Point, and for the last three sessions had been a member of the state legislature. These men made no mention of party in their announcements, but their principles were too well-known to need any formal declaration. In May James G. Read of Daviess county announced himself as candidate for governor.<sup>59</sup> He did not refer to the national question in any manner. Read was by no means so well known as Noble, but although he did not at first mention his party preference it was well known that he was the candidate of the Jackson forces. Personally, as a speaker he was loud, impressive, impulsive, at times eloquent. He was always fortified with facts and brought them to bear with all his powers, upon his audience. In person he was below the common height, but strongly

<sup>58</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 87.

<sup>59</sup> *Western Sun*, May 14, 1828.

formed, head large, hair and eyes coal black, complexion dark, features good.<sup>60</sup> On June 4 Ross Smiley was formally announced as a candidate for lieutenant governor, with the comment:

Mr. Smiley was one of the electors for President and Vice-president at the last presidential election, and voted for Andrew Jackson.<sup>61</sup>

Mr. Smiley was better known both personally and politically than was Mr. Read. Milton Stapp, the lieutenant governor, became an independent candidate for governor, and James Gregory, state senator from Shelby county, was an independent candidate for lieutenant governor.

On May 10, 1831, Read issued from Washington, Indiana, a letter to the "Freemen of Indiana" stating his principles.<sup>62</sup> He declared that the general policy of the existing administration was decidedly approved by him. He concurred in the opinion expressed in the late message of the president on the tariff and internal improvements. He opposed the disorganizing doctrines of southern nullifiers, and those of northern consolidationists. He recognized the people as the source of all sovereign power. He touched only in very general terms the question of state issues. In connection with his deplored the action of the "southern nullifiers and northern consolidationists" it is worth while to note that Governor Ray in his annual message to the legislature in 1830 said:<sup>63</sup>

I have received and shall lay before you resolutions of the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Louisiana declaring that the tariff of 1828 accords with the constitution of the United States and is not injurious to the southern states. Corresponding resolves are expected of you.

These people evidently did not question the constitutionality of South Carolina's act, but rather condemned the policy of it.

On May 10, Noble issued a letter, "To the people of Indiana."<sup>64</sup> He sketched his life in Indiana; said that it was his

<sup>60</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 343.

<sup>61</sup> *Western Sun*, June 4, 1831.

<sup>62</sup> *Western Sun*, June 4, 1828, also *The Indiana Republican*, June 16, 1831.

<sup>63</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1830, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> *Western Sun*, June 4, 1831; also *The Indiana Republican*, June 16, 1831.

attachment to the civil institutions of our common country, his devotion to the interests of Indiana, the character in public and private life that he had built among them, and on the opinion his fellow citizens might entertain for his qualifications that he rested his pretensions, looking to the people all, and not to party discipline. He declared that the tariff was too vital to the interests of the state for him to oppose it. He pronounced the militia system a failure that should be replaced by some more efficient system. He pledged himself never to be a candidate for any higher office, and asked the people not to judge him until he had visited every county and given them a chance to see and hear him.

Each of the candidates stumped the state, visiting every county. This practice which was just coming into vogue in 1826, was very nearly universal by 1831. In their campaign the candidates were not only expected to make speeches setting forth their positions upon the question at issue but they were expected to refute all charges that might be brought against them and answer any questions that should be asked. In Knox county Wilson Lagow, a candidate for a local office (in 1830) gave notice to the voters that:

I will meet the voters of Palmyra township at Johnathon Hombick's on the 19; on the 22, the voters of Harrison township at the place of holding their election; on the 23, the voters of Johnson township at the place of holding their election; on the 24, the voters of Decker township at the place of holding their election; and on Saturday before the election at the courthouse in Vincennes, at which time and place I will be fully prepared to refute the calumnies heaped upon me by my opponent and show to the people that I have been vilely traduced and grossly slandered. At Vincennes I will have all the evidence necessary to a full and complete investigation.<sup>65</sup>

What he declared he would do here seems to be the things that were expected of all candidates.

The candidates themselves perhaps did not draw the political line so closely as did the press. The *Indiana Palladium* early in May made a strong plea for party alignment when it said:

<sup>65</sup> *Western Sun*, July 10, 1830.

In the first place they try to make it impossible for any man to come out on the question as they call it. What do they do next? Whenever a Jackson man is a candidate for any office they immediately raise the cry that he has "come out on the question," and how often they have defeated the election of known and tried Republicans? \* \* \* Do you know a Clay man in all your acquaintance who ever voted for a Jackson man for the legislature? In the eyes of the Clay man the Jackson man never has merit. They invariably find merit on the Clay side. \* \* \* I ask this sincerely, do Jackson men support the administration when they elect men who support different measures?<sup>66</sup>

The Madison *Herald* of June 1, made the same complaints when it said:

What is it that prompts the Clay party in this state to oppose every friend of General Jackson who aspires to office? What is it that induces them to cry question, question, the moment a Jackson man appears in the field? They will tell you they are opposed to the principles and measures of his administration and they want to put them down. That they cannot conscientiously support a man who favors the policy of the president. Avowing this they have the effrontery to ask the Jackson men to support them.<sup>67</sup>

While the politician, the orator, the partisan press have reached the stage of such acute party alignment that it was practically impossible for a non-partisan candidate to be elected, the party lines were not yet so closely drawn around the bulk of citizens that the national question should determine the state issue. There was no doubt but what the state was safely Jacksonian upon the national question but on the state issue the prestige of the name of Jackson could not overcome the personal popularity of Mr. Noble and he was elected by a vote of 17,959 to 15,168 for Read and only 4,424 for Stapp, the independent candidate.<sup>68</sup> Noble's running mate, David Wallace, was elected lieutenant governor by a vote of 17,101 to 12,858 for Smiley, the Jacksonian candidate, and 5,346 for Gregory, the independent.

The party line was less closely drawn in the legislative election than in the gubernatorial. The most notable feature was the tendency of the party toward bringing out local

<sup>66</sup> *Western Sun*, May 28, 1831.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, June 11, 1831.

<sup>68</sup> *House Journal*, 1831, p. 29.

tickets. The Jacksonians in Dearborn county met at Lawrenceburg March 30, 1831, and drew up a series of ten resolutions.<sup>69</sup> The first nine of these endorsed the administration of Jackson while the tenth provided a committee of three from each township in the county to meet on the fourth Saturday in April to arrange a county ticket for the party. This is one of the first instances of the kind found in the state. The party preference of all candidates was well known but the voters were just as little inclined to vote the party ticket as they were in the case of the governor. Three weeks after the election the *Western Sun*, while not able to give the result, predicted an increase in the Jackson strength in the state legislature, and comments that

It is a remarkable fact that with a large majority of the state in favor of Jackson there has at all times been a majority of Clay and Adams men in the legislature.<sup>70</sup>

This election was no exception. In the previous legislature the anti-Jackson forces claimed an actual majority of twenty<sup>71</sup> while in the election of United States senator William Hendricks, a Clay man, who was just completing a term of service, was elected over Ratliff Boone, the Jacksonian candidate, by a vote of 44 to 26 with twelve votes distributed between John Law and Charles Dewey, both Clay men.<sup>72</sup> Before the returns from the election were all in the Lawrenceburg *Palladium*, a radical Jacksonian paper, conceded that 39 Clay men were elected to the house and seven to the senate, while 30 Jackson men were elected to the house and six to the senate,<sup>73</sup> while the *Indiana Clarion*, a Clay paper, claimed a majority of two to one for the anti-administration forces in the senate.<sup>74</sup> This legislature also had to elect a United States senator. Senator James Noble died in February, 1831. Governor Ray appointed Robert Hanna to serve until the General Assembly should meet. The Assembly, however, passed by the appointee and

<sup>69</sup> *Western Sun*, April 16, 1831.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, August 20, 1831.

<sup>71</sup> *Niles' Register*, December 25, 1830.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, January 8, 1831.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, September 3, 1831.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, September 10, 1831.

chose Gen. John Tipton, a man who supported Jackson, but opposed his bank policy. The party lines were not drawn in this election. Tipton received 55 votes to 36 for Jesse L. Holman and 14 scattering.<sup>75</sup>

In 1829 the General Assembly passed a law advancing the time for holding the congressional election from 1830 to 1831, making it occur biennially from the latter date.<sup>76</sup> The state and local elections were accompanied this year by a vigorous congressional campaign. In the First district Ratliff Boone, the Jacksonian incumbent, was opposed by John Law. Party lines were as usual more closely drawn here than elsewhere. The record of Boone in congress was also an issue. Boone was elected by a vote of 11,281 to 10,905 for Law. His majority was the largest that he had yet received.<sup>77</sup>

In the Second district, where there had previously been practically a unanimous sentiment in favor of Jennings, there were six candidates, Jennings being one of them. While he had always been a Clay man, he had never allowed the national issue to enter into his canvass for election to congress. The development of the party spirit made it almost impossible for an independent to be elected. Jennings' personal habits,<sup>78</sup> especially the use of intoxicants, had so weakened him that he could not give as good service at this time as formerly, hence his defeat was practically assured before he entered the race. James B. Ray was also an independent candidate but his troubles during his last term as governor had destroyed his popularity and he stood no chance. John H. Thompson and Isaac Howk were also independent candidates. William W. Wick, the son of a Presbyterian minister from Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, where Jennings, Hendricks, and Dr. Wylie had attended school, was the Anti-Jackson candidate. Wick was well known, popular, and a good campaigner. His political sentiments were perhaps not firmly fixed for he became a Jacksonian four years later.<sup>79</sup> Gen. John Carr, a soldier of the

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, December 24, 1831.

<sup>76</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1829 (13th session), 28.

<sup>77</sup> *Niles' Register*, September 17, 1831.

<sup>78</sup> Woolen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches*.

<sup>79</sup> See the letter of Wick to Mr. Payne of Texas in Woolen's *Biographical and Historical Sketches*, 252.

War of 1812 who had been a presidential elector on the Jackson ticket in 1824 was the Jacksonian candidate. The national question was waged between Wick and Carr while the other men depended upon local issues and personal popularity. In the election Carr received 4,855 votes, Wick 4,610, Ray 1,732, Jennings 1,681, Thompson 1,486, and Howk, 454.<sup>80</sup> The success of Carr was not due to the fact that voting was carried on along party lines, but rather to the fact that the independent vote was distributed among so many men. Carr's vote was less than one third of the total vote cast.

In the Third district Jonathan McCarthy became the Jacksonian candidate. In the opposition O. H. Smith had not forgotten events of the campaign of 1828 when John Test and McCarty became candidates during his absence and made such a thorough campaign that Smith saw his case to be hopeless upon his return and withdrew from the race, giving as his excuse that the one elected would represent a minority and he did not care to do so. By this time however, he had forgotten the dangers of being a minority representative, and while Test was in Washington City he became an active candidate. Test said of the affair in an open letter:

Last fall before I left here for Washington City and while Mr. Smith was understood to be an applicant for a seat upon the supreme bench, I gave positive assurance to his friends and my friends that I would certainly be a candidate. Mr. Smith never gave me the least intimation that he had any intention or even a desire to be one nor did ever a friend of his give me any information of the kind and until I saw it in the western newspapers at the city of Washington I did not believe he would offer.<sup>81</sup>

The Jackson forces centered all their efforts upon McCarty while the opposition was about equally divided between Test and Smith. A few days before the election rumors were sent all over the district bearing the information that Test had withdrawn from the race as Smith had three years previous.<sup>82</sup> It was too late for Test to refute the report and hundreds deserted Test for Smith. McCarty however, was elected.

<sup>80</sup> *Niles' Register*, September 17, 1831.

<sup>81</sup> *Indiana Republican*, September 22, 1831.

<sup>82</sup> See Test's open letter, *Indiana Republican*, September 22, 1831.

He received 6,243 votes to 5,289 for Smith and 3,107 for Test.<sup>83</sup> The Jacksonian party while it had polled much less than half the votes cast upon the congressional question, had secured all the congressmen. This was due to their perfect unity, harmony and organization. The opposition had not yet learned the lesson of concentration.

The local elections in 1832 were overshadowed by the national election and we know but little about them. All discussions of local issues or local candidates were omitted for the more important discussion of the Bank question. After the election however, both sides claimed the victory. The *Indiana Democrat* said:

Of the ten senators who were to be elected, five Jacksonians are certainly elected, and the sixth not heard from. Of the seventy-five members of the house of representatives to be elected forty-one out of the sixty-nine already returned are Jackson men, twenty-eight Clay men and two Anti-Mason, leaving four to come in, and a probability that at least two of them will be for the administration. One of the Anti-Masons was for Clay and the other for Jackson. Thus has Indiana stood her ground in spite of the outcry against the veto (Bank), and without the least exertion has she entirely changed the state of parties in the house of representatives and will probably have the majority on a joint ballot on the Jackson side.<sup>84</sup>

At the same time the *National Intelligencer* quoted a letter from a gentleman from Indianapolis which said:

A large majority of National Republicans are elected to the legislature and I have no hesitation in answering you that the electoral ticket favorable to Henry Clay and John Sergeant will be secured in the fall by an overwhelming majority. I perceive that some of the Jackson politicians are reckoning Indiana among the doubtful states. She is not doubtful.<sup>85</sup>

Party lines were not sharply drawn in the legislature and when that body had to elect a successor to Senator Tipton, thirty of the Clay men voted for Tipton, who was a moderate Jackson man, and he was easily elected, although the Clay men had a majority of at least six on joint

<sup>83</sup> *Niles' Register*, September 17, 1831.

<sup>84</sup> *Niles' Register*, September 1, 1832.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, September 1, 1832.

ballot. Other candidates were Boone, McCarty and Read, Jacksonians and Smith, Blackford and Patterson, Clay men.<sup>86</sup> Tipton's election was due to his personal popularity and his excellent record as well as his personal opposition to the bank program of Jackson.

The census of 1830 showed such an increase in the population of the state that the number of representatives in the lower house of congress was increased from three to seven. The redistricting of the state caused new alignments of politicians and gave room for many new men. The excitement of the campaign of 1832 was followed by a relaxation of party spirit and candidates depended more upon their personal popularity and merits in the election of 1833 than they had done in the two previous congressional elections. The campaign was waged about the two national questions, the Bank and Public Lands.<sup>87</sup> The Jacksonians appealed to the party spirit and the need of giving support to the administration in its legislative program. The opposition, besides opposing the policies of the administration decried the reign of party enthusiasm. The Vincennes *Gazette*, a radical Clay paper, said in an editorial:

If the people, out of the names before them do not choose good men and true men, honest and capable, to represent them in congress the senate and the house of representatives it will be their own fault. The demon of party excitement now being dormant if not entirely dead, we consider this a most favorable time for the people to make good selections from amongst those who are seeking their favor and we hope sincerely that they will again return to the old Republican maxim above quoted, which of late years has been entirely neglected.<sup>88</sup>

This radical Clay publication failed to mention the national question in connection with any candidate during the campaign. The election resulted in almost a complete victory for the Jacksonians. Ratliff Boone was elected in the First district, John Ewing in the Second by a majority of two votes: John Carr in the Third, Amos Lane in the Fourth, Jonathan McCarty in the Fifth, Edward A. Hannegan in the Seventh.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, December 22, 1832; January 5, 1833.

<sup>87</sup> See letter of Amos Lane, in *Indiana Palladium*, July 27, 1833.

<sup>88</sup> June 22, 1833.

"All thoroughgoing, died-in-the-wool Jacksonians except Ewing."<sup>89</sup> This was the first time in four years that the state legislature had not been required to elect a member of the national senate. For that reason it was more free from the national question than it had recently been and that question was not argued in the election that year.

The first candidate for governor ever selected by a State convention in Indiana was James G. Read, the Jacksonian candidate in 1834. The convention met in Indianapolis Monday, Dec. 9, 1833. Only 27 counties sent representatives, Samuel Milroy was made chairman of the convention. It was provided that friends of the administration who chanced to be present from the unrepresented counties should act as delegates. It was also provided that each county should have as many votes as it had representatives in the General Assembly.<sup>90</sup> The Vincennes *Gazette* gave a vivid characterization of the convention in its account of its proceedings. It said:

The convention, composed of about seventy very respectable looking, in most cases, self-constituted delegates, held their meeting December 9, in the hall of the house of representatives which had adjourned to accommodate them. After a great deal of argument, and confusion, an adjournment was agreed upon in order that the contending interests might each ascertain their respective strength and form such combinations and coalitions as would insure a majority on the first ballot, for some one of the many aspirants for the nomination to the office of governor and lieutenant-governor, by a committee styling itself Democratic-Republican; but in reality it was an assemblage of office seekers, pensioners of the treasury, office holders and men who held their politics in their hand for sale to the highest and best bidder. A small portion of the members were no doubt good honest men animated by a desire to sustain principles.<sup>91</sup>

James G. Read was nominated on the second ballot for governor over Jacob B. Lowe of Monroe county. David Cully of Dearborn county was nominated for lieutenant governor over Ross Smiley, Read's former running mate. The convention also appointed three delegates from each congressional

<sup>89</sup> Vincennes *Gazette*, September 7, 1833.

<sup>90</sup> *Indiana Journal*, December 11, 1833.

<sup>91</sup> December 16, 1833.

district to attend a national convention should one be held. Read was notified of his nomination by a committee appointed for that purpose and he accepted through the publication of a short circular letter.<sup>92</sup>

Noble and Wallace as governor and lieutenant governor had been extremely popular officials and they were generally regarded as candidates for reelection long before their terms expired. They were unopposed within their own party and became the candidates by merely announcing themselves as such.

Candidates by this time depended almost entirely upon the stump rather than the press to influence public opinion. Read and Cully and Noble and Wallace visited every part of the state. The *Comet* published at Charleston, Indiana, complained:

The country is much annoyed this year by smallpox, measles, cholera, snakes, tatlers, mad dogs, and long speeches.<sup>93</sup>

The *Western Constellation* published at Covington, gives the following estimate of the nature of the campaign gathered from the speeches of Read and Noble given in Covington on Wednesday, July 30, 1834:

The canvass appears to be conducted by both of them with an unusual degree of spirit and zeal. Upon the great questions of the day—the bank of the United States, the public land, etc.—they differ entirely, Judge Read being opposed in the most positive terms to the adoption of Mr. Clay's land bill and the recharter of the Bank of the United States.<sup>94</sup>

The popularity of Noble was too much for Read's appeal to partisanship to overcome and Noble was easily elected by a vote of 27,676 to 19,994 for Read with 25 scattering.<sup>95</sup> It is a significant fact that the total vote 48,795 was more than ten thousand greater than the total vote cast three years previous, which was only 37,549. This was largely due to the increased population. Wallace's vote was almost two thousand greater than that of Noble. He received 29,451 to 14,260 for Cully.

<sup>92</sup> *Western Sun*, February 8, 1834.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* May 31, 1834.

<sup>94</sup> August 1, 1834.

<sup>95</sup> *House Journal*, 1834, p. 35.

Beyond the election of Andrew Jackson vs. John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay the people of this state have never been drilled to wear the collar of party. Our state legislature has never been thus constituted and it has elected senators in congress from Clay districts and vice versa. This is in the main as it should be. When the time comes throughout this union that all our state elections must be shaped by predilections for a pair of competitors for the presidency then you may talk about state sovereignty and rights but it will be nothing but talk. The president may then speak of his money, his officers, his army and his navy, for they will be his to all intents and purposes, for forwarding his imperial designs.<sup>96</sup>

The *Western Sun*, offered this as an apology for the election of Noble. A little later it gave perhaps a better estimate of conditions within the state when it said:

Indiana is Democratic to the core—that circumstances wholly unconnected with general politics may have occasionally presented a state of things which would perhaps lead those who are unacquainted with our local affairs to a different conclusion is no doubt true. That our gubernatorial election; that our election for members of congress and to the state legislature may have resulted in a choice sometimes of those who differ from the great body of the Democratic party in their views of men and measures, so far as the general government is concerned is also no doubt true—the gubernatorial question then I repeat, had nothing to do with general politics, or with the succession to the presidency.<sup>97</sup>

The election of the state legislature attracted little attention beyond the personality of the local candidates. There is little or no newspaper comment upon the subject except the mere announcement of candidates and of speaking dates, and in these there is no reference to party. After the election, the *Indiana Democrat* claimed a Jacksonian victory. It said:

Notwithstanding the vain boasting of the opposition that Jacksonism was totally demolished in Indiana at the late elections our readers may rest assured that there is a majority of Jackson men elected to the house of representatives; and in the senate there are more Jackson men than ever before took their seats in the senate of Indiana.<sup>98</sup>

There was no occasion for a political division and we have to depend upon such comments to get the political complexion

<sup>96</sup> *Western Sun*, September 13, 1834.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, December 18, 1834.

<sup>98</sup> *Western Sun*, September 20, 1834.

of the legislature. It is certain however that on joint ballot it would have been Anti-Jacksonian.

Party spirit which had run at such high tension for the last ten years was now beginning to lose its force. Jacksonianism had now accomplished its purpose. It had vindicated Jackson. The issues about which it had rallied were either settled or the Jacksonians had strength enough to determine them as they wished. Then with Jackson vindicated, in the absence of a vital issue, and with the existing hard times, a lull in the political storm was to give away to a reaction against the Jacksonians when the flush times were followed by the panic of 1837.

In the election of 1835 there was a decided lull in the party spirit. For congress in the First district,<sup>99</sup> Ratliff Boone was opposed by J. G. Clendennen; in the Second, John Ewing was opposed by John W. Davis; in the Third, John Carr had as his opponent Charles Dewey while in the Fourth, Amos Lane's seat was contested by George H. Dunn. In the Fifth, Jonathan McCarty had John Finley and James Rariden opposed to him. In the Sixth, there was not enough opposition to George Kinnard to attract a rival candidate, but in the Seventh, Edward A. Hannegan had two opponents in the persons of Thomas J. Evans and James Gregory. The campaign was remarkably free from the national question. Hannegan declared in his announcement of his candidacy that, should the election of president fall upon the house he would stand by the majority in his district,<sup>100</sup> while the *Western Sun* urged the voters, a few days before the election to:

Let every man act as becomes a freeman, as such we all have principles to maintain. Vote for such men as will advocate and maintain them and all will be well.<sup>101</sup>

These were the nearest approach to the national question, to be found. The election showed the return of all the Jackson men and the supplanting of Mr. Ewing by Mr. Davis. The *Western Sun* in commenting upon the election of Davis said:

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, April 25, 1835.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, March 28, 1835.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, August 1, 1835.

The district has been redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the virtue and intelligence of a free people.<sup>102</sup>

More modern political methods, than heretofore, were perhaps used in this election. Mr. S. L. Halbert of Mt. Pleasant complained in a column and a half article in the *Western Sun*,<sup>103</sup> about the use of party tickets in the congressional election. He also charged that a contractor on the National road had used influence to cause his men to vote against Mr. Ewing. In the same issue the editor defends the things that Mr. Halbert complains about. He said:

What freeman will deny the right of another to have tickets printed with such name or names on them as he likes best.

In the legislative elections, party division was entirely lacking this year.

The only local election of importance in 1836 was that of the legislature. The body chosen at this election would have to elect a United States Senator to succeed William Hendricks. This, and the fact that it was a presidential year brought the national question into the legislative election.<sup>104</sup> Both sides claimed a majority on joint ballot,<sup>105</sup> but the Anti-Jackson forces had a decided majority. In the senatorial election, Senator Hendricks was opposed by Governor Noah Noble, Ratliff Boone, and Oliver H. Smith. The Jacksonian members of the General Assembly, preferred Smith to Noble and when it was seen that the cause of either Hendricks or Boone was helpless they threw their strength to Smith and he was elected on the ninth ballot by a majority of sixteen votes over Noble.<sup>106</sup>

The loss of the state by the administration forces in 1836 left that party defeated and grasping for some issues about which they could rally their forces. They could not hope to elect a governor by an appeal to partisanship for the majority in the state was now clearly against them. Their cause in the

<sup>102</sup> August 15, 1835.

<sup>103</sup> September 26, 1835.

<sup>104</sup> See *Western Sun*, August 6, 13, and October 8, 1836.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, September 3, 1836.

<sup>106</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 141.

election of 1837, became all the more hopeless when David Wallace, the most popular man in the state announced himself as candidate for governor early in February.<sup>107</sup> Although the people of the state were feeling the effects of the hard times, the sale of public lands had kept money enough in circulation to do the legitimate business, and there still existed a strong tendency towards extravagant expenditure of public funds. Accordingly when Wallace advocated an extensive system of internal improvements at state expense, his popularity was very greatly increased. The Jacksonians, who had only three years previous used all the power of the administration to nominate and elect James G. Read, did not bring out a candidate against Wallace, and John Dumont, a Whig, became his opponent. The appeal for votes was made entirely upon local issues.

Mr. Dumont ran on the branch of internal improvements known as "classification," while Governor Wallace went for construction simultaneously of the whole works.<sup>108</sup>

However, when the radical administration forces did not give Dumont support, as partisan opponents of Wallace the *Western Sun* in noticing his speech in Vincennes said:

Mr. Dumont, one of the candidates for governor, visited this place on Thursday last, and amused a portion of our good citizens by a display of stump oratory. I say amused for they were certainly so, and I might be in error had the word instructed been substituted. I cannot say whether he brightened his prospects here by his exhibition or not. The sovereign arbitors seemed to differ upon this point and I myself rather incline to the belief that he has had his labor for his pains.<sup>109</sup>

The editor, however, urged all voters to come out on election day.<sup>110</sup> The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Wallace. He received 45,240 votes to 36,197 for Dumont.<sup>111</sup> David Hillis was elected lieutenant governor over Alexander Burnette by a vote of 48,823 to 22,311.<sup>111</sup> There

<sup>107</sup> *Western Sun*, February 11, 1837.

<sup>108</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 132.

<sup>109</sup> July 22, 1837.

<sup>110</sup> August 5, 1837.

<sup>111</sup> *House Journal*, 1837, pp. 28-29.

was no mention of national politics in the press by either side during the campaign, and even in his inaugural address Wallace did not mention the national questions of banks, currency, or hard times.<sup>112</sup> Party enthusiasm rarely gives way to complete dejection to a greater degree than it did in Indiana from 1834 to 1837.

The dejection that characterized the governorship election, gave way to Jacksonian disaster in the congressional election. For the first time party distinction is made throughout the state and the candidates are known as the Whig, and the administration or Democratic candidates. The Whig candidates were John Pitcher in the First district; John Ewing in the Second; William Graham in the Third; George H. Dunn in the Fourth; James Rariden in the Fifth; William W. Wick in the Sixth; and Albert S. White in the Seventh. These were opposed respectively by Ratliff Boone, John Law, J. S. Simonson, Amos Lane, Jonathan McCarty, James B. Ray, (also Whig) and Nathan Jackson. Two years before seven Jackson men had been elected but now all of them were defeated by substantial majorities except Boone,<sup>113</sup> and he was elected by a majority of less than a hundred. In the Seventh district the Democrats did not carry a single county. The cause for the change was so apparent that the Democrats did not try to offer excuses. They could only abuse. The *Western Sun* in summarizing the election, while it was thought that Boone was defeated, commented that they were "all Federalists."<sup>114</sup> The Terre Haute *Courier* took exception to the term and the *Sun* replied:

They are Federalist because they possess the same principles that the Federalists did in 1799 and 1800.<sup>115</sup>

The national question was left entirely out of the legislative election this year, but since the legislature had never been Jacksonian, there was no possible chance for it to become so this year. The slump from the Democratic ranks

<sup>112</sup> *Western Sun*, December 30, 1837.

<sup>113</sup> *Niles' Register*.

<sup>114</sup> August 19, 1837.

<sup>115</sup> August 26, 1837.

continued into the next year and there was no attempt to revive the party spirit in the local elections of 1839. When the elections were over the *Indiana Journal* very modestly announced that the Whigs would have a majority of thirty votes on joint ballot in the General Assembly.<sup>116</sup> This was also the year to elect a United States senator to succeed John Tipton. Mr. Tipton early in the year realized that his reelection was impossible and refused to be a candidate.<sup>117</sup> "Jefferson" in an open letter, conceded that it was impossible to elect a Democrat to the senate.<sup>118</sup> He urged the Democratic members of the legislature to consider well the course they should take, and for them, "to a man to vote for an honest firm and consistent member of their own party" or to cast blank ballots. The election was the most bitterly contested senatorial election yet experienced in the state. It occupied four days and went to thirty-six ballots. On that ballot Albert S. White, representative in Congress from the Seventh district, was elected. He received 75 votes to 37 for Colonel Thomas Blake, representative from the Vincennes district, 11 for Governor Noble, 16 for Tilghman A. Howard and three scattering.<sup>119</sup> Mr. White was not nearly so well known as the other candidates.

The disaster of 1837 thoroughly awakened the Democrats to the real condition within the state, while the panic of 1837 and the unpopularity of Van Buren were alienating hundreds from the cause, while the popularizing of Governor Wallace's scheme of internal improvements was attaching like numbers to their opponents. In 1838 they began to prepare for the congressional campaign of 1839. The *Western Sun* again took the lead. On November 3, 1838, it admonished the party that:

The time has now emphatically arrived when the Democratic party in Indiana should assume its correct position. Too long have we permitted the enemy to dictate to us, our course of action. We should take the necessary steps to make our principles successful. At the last congressional election of this state, in almost every district, our party was unprepared. They had suffered the matter to run too long and when

<sup>116</sup> *Western Sun*, August 18, 1838.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, May 12, 1838.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, September 22, 1838.

<sup>119</sup> *Niles' Register*, December 22, 1838.

the trial came they were unprepared and of course defeated except in the district of the invincible Boone. From past blunders we should learn and correct what was wrong. Under every view of the case I am convinced that the correct policy is to bring our candidates immediately on the track fearlessly and openly. I cannot see that anything is to be gained by delay.

The admonition of the editor met with a ready response in his own district. The previous election had been so disastrous that there appeared to be no self-offered candidate. To meet the situation the Terre Haute *Enquirer* proposed a district convention to be held at Bloomfield in Green county.<sup>120</sup> The *Western Sun* seized the idea and issued a call for such a convention to be held on Monday, March 18, 1839. It requested the Democrats in each county in the district to elect delegates to the convention, and declared that, harmony and union are now necessary; principles and not men should be our motto.<sup>121</sup> This sounded strongly like the cry of the administration forces at the time of Adams. At the same time that the *Sun* sent out its call for March 18, other calls were sent out for March 22 and the editor of the *Sun* agreed to that date.<sup>122</sup> The Knox county Democrats selected their delegates on February 16, and pledged themselves to support whatever candidate of the Democratic party said District convention should nominate. There was an unanimous feeling in this meeting that the convention was necessary.<sup>123</sup> The Vigo county convention to nominate delegates endorsed the name of John Davis for congress, attached the name Federalist, condemned the Federal Whig congressman, denounced the attacks upon the administration and expressed confidence in the people. They also provided for the appointment of county committees and the distribution of the Democratic paper.<sup>124</sup> The district convention at Bloomfield was made up of representatives from every county within the district. It nominated John W. Davis for congress. Its resolutions expressed confidence in the administration; condemned the Federal Whigs; hoped for a

<sup>120</sup> *Western Sun*, January 26, 1839.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> February 2, 1839.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, February 23, 1839.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, March 2, 1839.

speedy completion of the Cumberland road; and provided for Vigilance committees in the various counties.<sup>125</sup> This was the first congressional convention within the state and the name of its nominee was placed at the head of a party ticket in the newspapers of the district.<sup>126</sup> This is the first time that the papers had published any party ticket except presidential candidates and presidential electors. The Whigs in the same district also chose the convention plan to nominate their candidate.<sup>127</sup> John Ewing became their candidate. In the First district, the Democrats chose Robert Dale Owen as their candidate to the exclusion at Ratliff Boone. The cause lies in the growing unpopularity of Boone. He had been;

for the last ten years pursued by the blood hounds of the Federal press throughout the country with a spirit of malignity which has no parallel in the history of modern times.<sup>128</sup>

Owen's opponent was George H. Proffitt. In the Third district John Carr, Democrat, was opposed by William Graham. In the Fourth Thomas H. Smith, Democrat, was opposed by George H. Dunn. In the Fifth district James Rariden, Whig, was opposed by McCarty and Thompson both Democrats, while in the Sixth district, W. W. Wick opposed William Herrod. In the Seventh, T. A. Howard, Democrat, was opposed by Thomas J. Evans. The campaign was remarkably free from personal abuse. The case of Owen in the First district was the exception. The communistic experiment at New Harmony by the Owens was not well understood throughout the state and Mr. Owens was charged with infidelity, licentiousness and other crimes against morality and religion.<sup>129</sup> The charges were proven false but not until too late in the campaign to save the election, and Proffitt was elected by 779 votes. The other men elected were, Davis, Carr, Smith, Rari-

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, March 30, 1839.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, April 13, 1839.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 1839.

<sup>128</sup> *Western Sun*, June 30, 1838. Boone immediately left the state and went to Missouri, where he entered politics as an opponent of Benton and soon became the leader of the opposition. On November 20, 1844, he waited at the wharf all day to get returns from the election. He said that he would be ready to die if Polk were elected. When the boat brought news of Polk's election he went home and died in a few hours. See Woolen's *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Indiana*, 4.

<sup>129</sup> Woolen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches*, 291.

den, Wick and Howard.<sup>130</sup> The election of Rariden was due to the fact that the Democratic vote was split between McCarty and Thompson. The *Western Sun* immediately announced that five Democrats and two Federalists had been elected to congress.<sup>131</sup> It gave the results of the election of members of the state legislature as ten Democrats and seven Federalists to the senate and 61 Democrats and 39 Federalists to the house of representatives. It also claimed for the Democrats a decided majority on joint ballot. The failure of Governor Wallace's scheme for internal improvements perhaps caused the change in the state legislature.

The political feeling in 1840 was even more intense than it was in 1828. The contest in 1828 had centered about men, and principles entered into the contest only as incidents or political capital. That of 1840 differed from it in that it was a great party struggle. Party success was the first thing aimed at and principles were largely secondary to party and men were yet secondary to principles. While men were brought forward and contests centered about the personality of men it was done not as a reward to men for service nor as a recognition of fitness for office but rather that party success might be attained through the popularity of candidates.

Both parties were active long before the time for election. The election for governor and for president for the second time both came in the same year, 1840. Party lines were sharply drawn on state issues and both sides felt that the party which elected the governor in August would carry the state for president in November. The Democrats had recovered from their dejection and were more determined than they had ever been before. Their spirit was alarming to the Whigs. O. H. Smith wrote to Clay on September 28, 1839, that:

The party opposed to us seemed to be united and moved by one common impulse while their watchword is Democracy, understood by few but powerful with the masses; and however little the party is entitled to its name it has it, and we have to meet the false issue made for us with the additional and equally false cry of Federalism ringing in our ears.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>130</sup> *Niles' Register*, September 21, 1839.

<sup>131</sup> August 31, 1829.

<sup>132</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 252.

By the first of October, they were making preparation for a state convention to be held in Indianapolis on January 8, the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.<sup>133</sup> Conventions were held in almost every county in the state, and when the convention met in Indianapolis more than six hundred delegates were present. Samuel Milroy was made chairman and was escorted to the chair by two Revolutionary soldiers, Tilghman A. Howard was chosen as a candidate for governor. The nominations were unanimous. A set of resolutions was adopted praising Jackson and condemning extravagant speculation and the credit system.<sup>134</sup> "Union, concession, harmony, everything for the cause, nothing for men" because the Democratic motto and under it the loyal party men displayed all the determination they had shown while their party was on its rise.

The Whigs were in an awkward situation to begin the campaign. David Wallace, the Whig candidate had been elected governor in 1837 upon the question of internal improvements. He attempted to complete the entire system of roads, canals, railroads, etc., at one time. The state was fortunate in securing loans but was defrauded out of millions by speculators. This, added to the general depression in the money market, caused the system to break down. The state was left heavily in debt with an immense amount of unfinished improvements which yielded no tolls and offered no facilities to farmers for travel and added no value to real estate.<sup>135</sup> The failure of Wallace's scheme made it almost impossible for him to be elected in 1840 and his party determined to pass him by. The week following the Democratic convention the Whigs met in convention on January 16, 1840. The delegates began to pour into Indianapolis four or five days prior to the date of the convention. They came in wagons richly decorated, and sometimes in processions headed by bands, and bearing flashy banners. On the evening of January 15, the assembly met with Samuel Judah of Knox county, the former Jacksonian as chairman, and formed a temporary organiza-

<sup>133</sup> *Western Sun*, October 4, 5, 1839.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, January 25, 1840.

<sup>135</sup> See Logan Esarey, *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana*, ch. 3, 78-116.

tion. The next day the delegates formed in a monstrous procession in front of the capital and paraded the principal streets of the city. The procession was headed by a large banner bearing the likeness of General Harrison. This was followed by bands with other banners in highly decorated wagons. Near the rear was a banner bearing the inscription, "We are for a government for the people and not for a government of office holders." And on the reverse side it said: "General Harrison has fought more battles than any other general and never sustained a defeat." The rear was brought up by a number of Indianapolis boys each bearing a flag and wearing a blue sash.

After parading the streets the procession returned to the State House, but finding it too small to hold the crowd organized in the open air although it was midwinter. Samuel Judah, the author of the first address of the Jacksonians to the people (1824) was made permanent chairman. A number of resolutions were adopted and Samuel Bigger and Samuel Hall were nominated for governor and lieutenant governor respectively.<sup>136</sup> Bigger was judge of the Sixth judicial circuit. He was a graduate of Ohio university and a man of strict political and moral integrity. He was over six feet tall, well proportioned, fine faced, blue eyes, prominent forehead, a very commanding appearance, a fair stump speaker, plain and candid in his statements, leaving a lasting impression upon his audience always closing with an eulogy on the life and character of General Harrison.<sup>137</sup> The president of the convention appointed a committee of five senators and five representatives to manage the campaign. Upon them fell the burden of managing the entire campaign both state and national.

The state campaign was merged in the National. Prior to the August election the Democrats met the Whig cry of Harrison and Reform with the cry of Howard and reform, redeem the state.<sup>138</sup> However, at the time of his nomination Howard

<sup>136</sup> For proceedings of the convention see the *Logansport Telegraph*, February 8, 1840; also *Indiana Journal*, January 18, 1840.

<sup>137</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 349.

<sup>138</sup> *Western Sun*, July 11, 1840.

was a representative in congress and refused to resign until the close of the session for which he was severely attacked by the Whig papers. Later he did resign to take part in the campaign and the Whigs attacked him for drawing \$8.00 per day for electioneering.<sup>139</sup> The charge was false, however. Bigger was everywhere called the Federalist candidate by his opponents, while the Whigs complained of their opponent as belonging to the "Standing army of Van Buren."<sup>140</sup> Scores of able speakers visited every part of the state during the summer.<sup>141</sup> An attempt was made to draw Howard out on the question of Internal Improvements. He replied that he considered the system attempted as too expensive and favored a more limited work according to capital. Since the campaign was waged largely upon the national issues, the memory of the panic of 1837 and the local popularity of Harrison were too much even for the popularity and noble character of Howard. The enthusiasm was almost entirely upon the side of the Whigs and the Democrats were driven to resort to admonition and ridicule. The celebration of the battle of Tippecanoe was termed a show.<sup>142</sup> Bigger said nothing that was very smart or very exceptional in his speech in Vincennes.<sup>143</sup> The Democrats were admonished that the "Federal party" intended getting up a free dinner and distributing as much liquor as possible in each township (Knox county) and that they must taste not and touch not the unclean thing, let their opponents act as they might.<sup>144</sup> The Democrats were warned that the Whigs appealed to their passions instead of a deliberate examination of the great questions upon the right decision of which depended the prosperity of their government. They wished to secure their suffrages as they would the huzzas of a child, by exhibitions, by parades, by music, by processions, by flags.<sup>145</sup> When the election was over the Whigs were accused of buying up votes with liquor.<sup>146</sup> In the August elec-

<sup>139</sup> *Western Sun*, July 11, 1840.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, June 27, 1840.

<sup>141</sup> Smith, O. H., *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 350.

<sup>142</sup> *Western Sun*, June 6, 1840.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, May 2, 1840.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, July 25, 1840.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, August 1, 1840.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, August 8, 1840.

tion Bigger received 62,678 votes and Howard 54,083.<sup>147</sup> National politics had for the first time determined a state election, General Howard had received three thousand more votes than his party was destined to poll in the November elections but he could not break the spell of the Whig-Harrison-Log-Cabin and Hard-cider campaign.

There was an overwhelming land-slide in the legislative election. There were 14 Whig and 2 Democratic senators and 77 Whig and 23 Democratic representatives elected from the same districts that had sent nine Democrats and 7 Whigs senators and 62 Democrats and 38 Whigs representatives at the last election.<sup>148</sup> Upon the resignation of Howard as Representative Edward A. Hannegan became the Democratic candidate to fill the vacancy, while Henry S. Lane was the Whig candidate. The campaign was entirely on national issues and in addition Hannegan had a wider acquaintance and a greater popularity than Lane. Lane however, was easily elected by a vote of 10,883 to 9,427 while the year before Howard, Democrat, had carried the same district by a majority of 1,754. The Whigs had made a gain of 3,210 votes.<sup>149</sup>

Indiana had now become as thoroughly partisan in state politics as she was in national. Local officials, except legislators, were not for a few years elected upon a party ticket, but party spirit was so strong that it was the rule for a Whig to vote for a Whig and a Democrat to vote for a Democrat although neither party had a distinct ticket. From this time forward, national issues determined state elections and independent voting almost ceased to exist.

<sup>147</sup> *House Journal*, 1840, p. 30.

<sup>148</sup> *Niles' Register*, August 22, 1840.

<sup>149</sup> *Niles' Register*, August 22, 1840.

## Barnabas Coffin Hobbs

By MINNIE B. CLARK, Salem

In the history of education in Indiana the name of Barnabas C. Hobbs occupies a prominent place. Living at a period when the state's educational system was undergoing some radical changes, he took an ardent and active interest in the up-building and betterment of the schools. To him we may attribute some of the marked transitions in the development of Indiana's schools and school laws and in the epoch of 1836 to 1886—a half hundred years—he won for himself a niche in the brilliant assemblage of notable Indiana educators. To all the pioneer educators and teachers who labored so earnestly for the cause under adverse conditions, we, of today feel a debt of gratitude for the splendid things they wrought in the cause of education. But in the illustrious group of scholarly men of that era, the figure of Barnabas C. Hobbs appeals to us—the people of Washington county—more strongly because of his nativity. Born in this county, we claim him as our own and honor him as a native son.

Barnabas C. Hobbs first saw the light of day in a modest but well-to-do pioneer home just a short distance from Salem, one hundred and seven years ago, yet we bridge the century of time with little effort and endeavor to review the past and gather up the essentials to combine a short sketch of his life. A charm hovers over the people and the things of "yesterday." We believe heartily in that beautiful sentiment expressed by Alphonse Karr, in the words:

"Not to do honor to old age is to demolish in the morning the house wherein we are to sleep at night."

Imbued with this idea the Washington County historical society included in its work as a special feature historical sketches of its early pioneer eminent citizens and families. Under this list of biographies, that of Barnabas C. Hobbs has been written with the hope some student of local or state history may be benefitted by its preparation.

Barnabas Hobbs was born October 4, 1815 in an attractive and favored section of country about two and one half miles from Salem, Indiana, and about one-half mile west of Canton. He was the son of William and Priscilla Coffin Hobbs, who came to Indiana from Guilford county, North Carolina. Elisha and Fanny Hobbs were parents of William Hobbs. Early in life they embraced the Quaker faith. They and their children and their children's children have ever since been members of the Society of Friends. Priscilla Coffin was the daughter of Samuel and Mary Coffin. She became the bride of William Hobbs 1799, 8th day of the 8th month. In an autobiography of William Hobbs, edited by his son Professor B. C. Hobbs, William Hobbs says. "We had but little of this world's goods to begin with and land was very poor. We had to work very hard and having an increasing family, I learned the saddlers trade, which I followed while I stayed in North Carolina."

In imagination we picture this Carolinian home and family eager to start on a journey northward to a land of promise—fair Indiana—then the great northwest. With many emigrants faring forth to a new country, they came in the spring of 1812 to Indiana territory and settled on the headwaters of Blue River, in what is now Washington county, then Harrison, a newly settled place. A few Friends had settled near them and thus the nucleus for pleasant worship of a common faith was started. From this time on there predominated in the life of this family that religious and Godly Christian living, the influence of which blended and formed the character of their son Barnabas C. Hobbs. Under the teachings of these strong determined characters that emigrated from the old North State he imbided the firm and indomitable traits of his pioneer forefathers. As a Quaker minister William Hobbs was zealous and earnest and much of his time was spent in travel (horse back) to the meetings he served.

Three years after the death of Priscilla Coffin, whose piety and faith was as devout as that of her husband, William Hobbs was again married (1839) to Anna Unthank, an approved minister of the Friends church of Wayne county, Indiana, and

thus his ministerial calling and duties were strengthened and blessed in the union.

In this work of gospel preaching and teaching, his son Barnabas Coffin Hobbs, followed his father's footsteps and became a noted minister of the Society of Friends and was probably the greatest scholar of Bible literature in any Friends church.

Barnabas Hobbs was the youngest of a family of eight children—having two brothers and five sisters. At the age of about six years, his parents moved to Martin county. His boyhood was spent on the farm where he learned to hunt, fish, swim and enjoy all the sports of that day and generation. At an early age he evinced a strong liking for books and his future as student, teacher and scholar seemed assured by the time he reached his sixteenth birthday. At the age of eighteen he taught his first school. This was in Bartholomew county, Indiana.

At about this time—during the decade of 1830—he became a pupil of John I. Morrison, "The Hoosier Arnold" at the Washington County seminary at Salem, Indiana, having as classmates, John S. Campbell, James G. May, Z. B. Sturgis, W. C. De Pauw, Elijah Newland, Thomas Rodman and Nathan Kimball.

In the year 1837-38 he was assistant principal of the Blue River Friends academy east of Salem and the following year served as principal of the school. This practically closed his career in his native county.

The following sketch from the Indianapolis *Journal*, published just after Mr. Hobbs' death, June 22, 1892, at Bloomingdale, Indiana, gives the outstanding events of his life:

Professor Hobbs was born near Salem, Washington county, Indiana. At the early age of eighteen he taught his first term of school. His pupils numbered forty and many of them his seniors. In 1837 he entered the Cincinnati college. He chose an elective rather than a regular course, and hence was not eligible to the honor of a degree on his withdrawal in 1839, though he was recognized as possessing all that is implied by a thorough college training and subsequently received a master's degree from Wabash college.

In 1839 he assumed charge of a boarding school at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and remained at the head of that institution until 1843, when

he married and removed to Richmond, Indiana. He established a school there and conducted it for four years with marked success. The Society of Friends then established a school, of which he was made superintendent. In 1851 he was chosen to the superintendency of the Bloomingdale, (Ind.) academy, where he continued for sixteen years. In 1866, he was appointed by Governor Morton, a member of the board of trustees of the new State Normal school. In the same year he was elected the first president of Earlham college at Richmond. At the end of two years he was elected superintendent of public instruction.

Immediately after the election—in October 1868—Superintendent Hoss resigned his office, and Mr. Hobbs was appointed by the governor to fill the vacancy, the regular term not commencing until about five months later. Superintendent Hobbs was thus left to make the biennial report of 1868. It is unique in style and most interesting in substance. He presented the cause of the colored people in a masterly manner. On the 28th of July of that year the fourteenth amendment had been declared a part of the constitution.

Superintendent Hobbs was among the first in his country to give attention to the subject of graded public schools. It was his idea that the rural schools should prepare pupils systematically for the high schools and the latter for the State university. In 1869 he issued a new edition of the school law, and in 1870 he made his second report to the legislature. Disappointed in his effort to secure needed legislation, it remained for him to do what he might to promote the efficiency of the school system as it was. He labored to secure the levying of a special tuition tax where it was necessary to extend the school term.

He retired from the department in 1871, and immediately returned to Bloomingdale, where he again assumed charge of the academy. In all the years that followed he has been a very busy man. In 1872 he made a geological survey of Parke county. As trustee of the State Normal school and of the Rose Polytechnic, he has contributed largely to their success.

In 1879, the Friends of America were moved to send a message to Alexander, the Emperor of Russia, and another to William, the Emperor of Germany. Professor Hobbs was chosen to perform this mission. At St. Petersburg he left with the prime minister, a memorial, which urged that the mennonites of the empire—a sect conscientiously opposed to war—might be relieved from military service. At Berlin, Professor Hobbs presented the Crown Prince a memorial which advocated the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, rather than by war. For some years, Professor Hobbs worked in the interest of Indian Education in North Carolina and Tennessee. For the enterprise undertaken by the Friends with reference to the descendants of aborigines in those states he has secured the sanction and aid of the government. He made an enumeration of the Cherokees of the reservation and determined their share of apportionments of revenue authorized by the

general congress—which share had been diverted from its purpose by errors and frauds. Professor Hobbs was noted as a clear and forcible speaker, a logical thinker and graceful writer. No member of the Society of Friends in this country was so widely known.

He leaves a widow and six children—William H. Hobbs of Indianapolis; Mrs. D. W. Stark of Rockville; Mrs. W. L. McMillin of Chicago; Mrs. T. C. Trueblood of Ann Arbor, Mich.; D. Y. Hadley of Las Cruces, N. M.; and Fowell B. Hobbs of Bloomingdale.

The Rockville *Republican* on the death of Mr. Hobbs published the following news article and tribute:

The death of Dr. Barnabas C. Hobbs occurred last Wednesday afternoon and came much sooner than was expected, though fears were entertained that his sickness would be fatal. He went to Michigan for relief but did not obtain it and was brought to his home in Bloomingdale on Monday. He rapidly failed until the end came. After an attack of the grip some months since, he was further depressed by the action of the Bloomingdale meeting, charging him with teaching false doctrine, and the many attacks that have been made on him in one way and another by those who were not worthy to unlatch his shoes. Yellow jaundice was the final cause of his death.

Professor Hobbs, as he was more familiarly known, was one of the best known men of the Society of Friends in the world; he was head of the Bloomingdale meeting and was a man of unusual attainments. He was a ripe scholar, a man of stern and uncompromising integrity, and a good man in every sense. Many of the younger generation of men in Parke county, and particularly those of the Friends church, were under him while he was principal of the Bloomingdale academy and remember him with reverence and good will. Any one of them who has followed in his footsteps is today a good man without doubt. His influence was wholesome at all times. These school sons of his rise up and call him blessed.

He was a stately gentleman of the old school, kind and courteous, grave, as became a man of his position, but with a keen sense of humor. Like all of his church during the war he was an uncompromising Republican and stood for his country at all times. He did not desert his party but maintained its principles to the close of his life. For this, much fault was found with him by those who thought he ought to join another party. But he was doubtless as conscientious in his belief as they were in theirs. Professor Hobbs occupied many positions of honor and usefulness in his long life, as may be seen by the biographical sketch printed in this issue. In all these he was equal to the occasion, doing his work modestly and promptly and with a high regard for duty.

The funeral, which took place at nine o'clock Saturday morning at Bloomingdale church, was largely attended, not only by people from the vicinity, but by numbers abroad. Persons were present from Richmond,

Terre Haute, Rockville and other places. The funeral discourse was preached by President J. J. Mills of Earlham college. It was a most praiseworthy effort and received the highest encomiums of those present. Prayer and remarks were made by Mr. Allen Jay of Richmond, and remarks by President Parsons of the State Normal school, Professor McGaggert of the same school and Mrs. Mattie Curl Dennis of Earlham college.

The interment took place in the Bloomingdale cemetery.

On Sunday, after the death of Barnabas C. Hobbs which occurred Wednesday June 22, 1892, a memorial service in his honor was held at the Friend's church in Bloomingdale, at three o'clock p. m. It is said "that friends and acquaintances, those who had known the distinguished educator for more than a quarter of a century, as well as those who had seen him only in the last years of his life, the governor of the state, members of the Rockville bar, ministers of varied denominations, his former students now middle aged men and women, Sunday school teachers and scholars, citizens and strangers," formed the assembly, paying public tribute to his abilities, his exalted character and his eminent services to the church and state.

Among the speakers of the afternoon was Governor Ira J. Chase, who said he came to represent the state and also to pay his tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased, as a friend. Governor Chase spoke of the services of Dr. Hobbs in behalf of peace among nations and his labors in behalf of the Indians. These topics were outstanding points in his address. The Hon. Thomas N. Rice delivered a noble eulogy, in which his intellectual abilities, and moral character were clearly set out. Mr. Rice made special mention of the valuable services of Professor Hobbs in perfecting the school laws of Indiana and establishing our present school system. He said that hardly a measure had passed the legislature in reference to our common schools but had first received the examination and sanction of Barnabas C. Hobbs.

In regard to the life and work of her distinguished father, Mrs. Carolyn H. Trueblood, wife of Professor T. C. Trueblood of Ann Arbor, Michigan, says:

My father visited personally every public school in Indiana twice while he was in the position of superintendent of public instruction. He

did not leave this to others as many other superintendents did. In this way he was very helpful to young teachers. He saw the great need of a first class normal school and advocated the building of such a school. Thus, the Normal School of Terre Haute was started. He was always a strong advocate of the higher education of woman and through him or his influence Bryn Mawr college was opened up.

In his lifetime he was given at different times three degrees of L. L. D. He was probably the greatest scholar of Bible literature in any Friend's church. He was a man who always lived and thought ahead of his time. This is the reason many at Bloomingdale failed to appreciate him or rather failed to understand him. This is why some of them claimed he preached "unsound doctrine," because he so often preached from the Old Testament. They thought he should confine himself to the New Testament.

I remember, now, that when in California some years ago Allen Jay told me of his being in Washington, D. C., when an eminent German professor of education, who had been sent to the United States to examine our schools, gave a lecture on public schools and a friend asked him if he would not like to go and hear it. He went. The professor said in his lecture that the best public schools in the U. S. were in Indiana and made so by a man named Barnabas Hobbs. This was interesting to me on account of it coming from a German, a stranger and foreigner.

My father's ambition for a better education was so great, he left his home and went to Cincinnati and then to teach in a Friend's Academy at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, where my mother was living and where he met and married her. Father was always dignified and mother was a young, bright, happy girl. Father was twenty-eight years old when he married my mother who was twenty-four year old. When he brought her to Richmond, Indiana, to take charge of the academy there, The first time he took her to meeting an old friend came to him and told him he was ashamed of him to marry such a pretty young girl. My father asked him how old he thought my mother was and he replied: "Not more than sixteen, if that old." "Well," said father, "she is twenty-four," but the man would not believe it. Mother always looked younger than her years. Father was slender and delicate but by careful living, taking regular exercises, he grew stronger with the years. His eyes were blue gray, his hair a very light, almost yellow, and at sixteen years it began to turn white and was all white at twenty years of age. I am the only one of the family who inherited this white hair and I have had white hair since I was twenty years old. Neither of us ever was gray. He was five feet, eleven and one-half inches tall and until his later years was very slender. While father always carried his dignity, he enjoyed a joke as well as any one.

An idea of his obedience and respect to his parents and his filial duties are related of Dr. Hobbs in a reminiscent story by his nephew, C. M. Hobbs of Plainfield, Indiana:

Uncle Barnabas said it was his job when a boy to get his mother to fifth day meeting, she being stout and very fleshy. Barnabas would hitch an ox to the cart and back up to a high door. His mother would waddle in and they would drive off.

He recalls another incident, thus:

Uncle Barnabas told me that on one of his trips abroad, he concluded that he (Barnabas) would like to imitate Gladstone and take a coach that carried the workmen out of London, that he might learn what they were thinking and talking about. So on going out to call on his friend Bevon Braithwaite a prominent Friend and Councillor to the Queen, he took a coach filled with workingmen, smoking their pipes and using the weed generally. And of course his clothing became thoroughly infected with the fumes of tobacco. When he arrived and was met at the door by his friend, Bevon remarked, "Why Barnabas has been smoking."

Reviewing the history of his uncle's family, C. M. Hobbs, speaks of this great uncle, William Hobbs (father of B. C. Hobbs) a minister of the Friend church at Blue River and an ardent friend of peace who was one of the promoters and officials in the Salem Peace society, which had its origin in the Blue River Friends' church at a meeting held the 19th of the 12th month 1818 and quotes the following paragraph from the minutes of the Western Yearly Meeting held at Plainfield, Indiana, (Sixty years later) ninth month, 14th day, 1877:

This meeting with the unity and approbation of Bloomingdale Monthly and Quarterly Meetings liberate Barnabas C. Hobbs to pay a religious visit to Great Britain, Ireland and the continent of Europe. This visit was accomplished the next year. On this visit Barnabas presented personally to the crowned heads of Europe, a memorial on peace. The Czar of Russia at that time was Alexander II. His son the late Czar called the first World's Peace Conference at The Hague. Mr. Hobbs concludes with this query, "It would be interesting to know whether the Salem Peace Society had any connection with this event?"

Professor James G. May of Salem, that prince of early and pioneer school masters of Washington county and southern Indiana, in an historical article on the Blue River academy in the *Washington County History* published in 1884 pays this tribute to Hobbs:

Place that man in the most uninviting log cabin and give him boys and girls, young men and women to teach and his school will be a first class college. In a haw-patch he would teach every thing and teach it well.

Perhaps the last visit of Barnabas Hobbs to Salem and his native county was the occasion of the Old Settler's annual meeting, August 9, 1883, when he gave an address on the life of John I. Morrison. This was an elaborate and memorable speech. The Salem *Democrat*, the week following (issue of August 15, 1883) says that he was listened to with marked attention. He was described then "as quite a venerable gentleman but well preserved for his age." He spent two or three days with relatives and friends and on Sunday evening during his stay "he lectured at the Presbyterian church on the Bible to an appreciative audience."

Barnabas Hobbs labored not with an eye to fame but for the benefaction of mankind and the uplift of humanity. His voice and pen were ever busy. In preaching, teaching, writing and other avenues of life, he achieved success and benefits not only for his day and age but for generations coming and yet to come. In closing this memoir, one of the dearest thoughts to his heart as expressed in the last paragraph in the chapter on Indiana School days is a ringing keynote today and is well worth repeating:

Men and nations are as they are taught. As a people elevate and sustain their educators so will their educators be found, in turn, the great instrumentality which brings them intelligence, freedom and prosperity, and peace and in the end true glory and honor.

So to perpetuate and honor his name as teacher, minister, lecturer, scholar and educator, we weave together and preserve this little paper as a chaplet of flowers and dedicate it to his memory.

## Indiana's Blind

By IDA HELEN MCCARTY, Pennville

The State School for the Blind, is in Indianapolis, and is now 75 years old. Here can be accommodated 125 pupils, 16 teachers, and other officers to the number of 54 persons. This is not a charitable institution, but for educational purposes only; and the cost to the state, per capita, is \$568.83.

Children over eight or under 21, if passing health requirements, may be admitted; and 12 years are required for graduation. The outline of work in this School for Blind is as nearly like that of our common schools as it is possible to make it. The character of this school at Indianapolis and the work accomplished here is very similar to that of any blind school of any other state.

The text-books are in New York Point, except in grades 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in which the revised Braille, grade 1½ has been introduced.

Much attention is given to memorizing work, typewriting, Sloyd (desk manual training), and a 45 minute period of each day is devoted to reading aloud from standard authors.

There are four departments, Literary, Music, Industrial and Physical Training. Forty credits are required for graduation from the first two departments, and all students must take a certain amount of work in the other two.

Chorus classes are required throughout the year, and is the most general division of the Music department. There are classes in Voice, Piano, Organ, String and Wind instruments, Recital and Chapel work, and History and Composition.

In the Manual Training department are taught many of the useful arts and trades that, in later life, will enable graduates to become skilfully and gainfully employed; to take their places alongside other graduates of our public schools.

In several states a fee of \$100.00 is given each graduate of this department, (if his circumstances warrant it), with which to purchase tools and material. This would enable him to start in business for himself, thus eliminating a great deal of

anxiety. Several attempts have been made to establish a fund to assist our worthy blind, after graduation; but, in Indiana, this is not settled, as yet. It is to be hoped that philanthropic friends of this institution will make this part of such a worthy cause a permanent arrangement.

As a result of the efficient work done in our School for Blind, many of its graduates are encouraged to take up higher education. What a stupendous task, when one considers all the handicaps. What an amount of ambition, pluck and patience must be behind a resolve like that: though blind, to complete a College course! How many of us, in like condition, would attempt it?

There are in Indiana university, at the present time, three students who have passed under the careful training of Mr. George S. Wilson, for 25 years the superintendent and director of Indiana's School for Blind. These students are doing excellent work, and merit worthy mention, according to the secretary of Indiana university.

They are: Everett Addington of Farmland who is tuning pianos to help defray his expenses, and who has been honored with a political office in his county; Russel Ray Judd of Evansville, totally blind, also tuning pianos; Jaunita Schardt of Indianapolis, totally blind.

A thorough search of the colleges of Indiana rewards us with other students: Ray Johnson is attending Chiropractor college at Indianapolis; Morris Field is with the Indiana University extension; Dean Ferguson is attending the Terre Haute State Normal; Ella Jeannette Slutz came from Ohio State university School for Blind and attended Butler college 1917-18, and also attended College for Missions, near Butler; Mr. Arthur G. Henkel of Rock Springs, Wyoming, attended Valparaiso university in 1915, taking Preparatory work leading to the study of Law. According to President Bowman, "he was a student of unusual intelligence and remarkable working ability."

Each blind student of a university in Indiana is now furnished with a reader, at the expense of the state.

Another force for the betterment of the condition of our Indiana blind is the Industrial Aid for Blind, a state institu-

tion. This aims to meet the adult blind, all over the state, in their own homes. In this way busy mothers (blind) who cannot leave their families or their work, may be taught to read raised type, and thus become able to use books and periodicals from the State Library. They are taught to do sewing, crocheting, knitting, rug and basket-making, and other useful arts.

Adult male blind are taught chair-caning, rug-weaving, broom-making, brush-making, mop-making, and needle-craft. As broom-making is more arduous than rug or basket-weaving, the very aged blind are taught the latter arts.

In connection with this work, field agents canvass the state, seeking out the blind who are eager for instruction, especially lessons in hygiene and home-making.

Mr. C. D. Chadwick, the executive secretary of the Industrial Aid for the Blind reports 1,922 calls made in 1922. Of these 519 were for the purpose of instruction.

Once or twice each year is held in Indianapolis a sale of articles made by the blind of our state. The Federated Womens' Clubs of Indiana have charge of these bazaars, and the money realized is given to the persons who did the work.

The first blind man in Indiana to finish a college course was Fred Morton McCartney, totally blind, having been left so from measles contracted when he was 17 months old. He was born at Flat Rock, Shelby county, Indiana, 1887, and was one among eight children. He entered the State School for Blind when he was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years old, beginning in the kindergarten.

He was still in the lower grades when Mr. Wilson took charge of the school (1898) and Mr. McCartney, in his story of his life, avers that he will always remember Mr. Wilson for getting him started right in his school career.

Fred McCartney completed the four years high school course in three years, by working at his books all vacation and taking examinations in the Fall. He specialized in the Literary department, carrying piano-tuning, Sloyd and some music.

In 1909 he entered Indiana university. He was the pioneer in this field, and of course had no reader. His only assets were

ambition and grit; piano-tuning was the only thing he could do to help buy books, pay fees, and other college expenses; and his parents and friends were skeptical about his being able to compete with the sighted.

He was a problem to the university, and a puzzle to himself, the solving of which made many of the professors rub their heads and think. Where to place him, and what to do with him? He was the topic for discussion at many a faculty meeting. He groped about for several weeks trying to find a place to anchor. Never once did he despair or falter. He says he knew he would find some way out of his dilemma, for his yearning for a college education was so strong.

Realizing, at last, that this young man really meant to do just what he had undertaken, his parents moved to Bloomington, the better to aid him. (Even yet they doubted the outcome of such an unheard of venture.)

At this time the story of Helen Keller was fresh in the minds of everyone and Fred McCartney thought that he, with fewer handicaps than she, might try the college course. So he secured the necessary readers, at his own and his father's expense, engaged work in piano-tuning, and thus started on his freshman year.

But right in the very beginning he met a stumbling block in mathematics. After much consultation, the professors permitted him to substitute American Poetry and Psychology, both of which were his favorite subjects. He signed up for all the other required subjects, and, in addition, took German and French.

All his notes, note-books, themes, examinations, were prepared on an ordinary typewriter, after having the keyboard fitted with the French accent marks, and the German Umlaut.

In 1910 he successfully passed the state teachers's examination for grades, and for High School English, and later, History. He took a course in Astronomy, under Professor Cogshall, and found the study most fascinating. He was especially fond of Professor Lindley, Psychology; and of Professor Stephenson, English.

In 1912 he received his A.B. degree. The following year he enrolled for the A.M. degree, with Psychology as his research subject. He won his second degree in 1914.

Mr. McCartney was married in 1914. In 1918 he went to Cincinnati as piano-tuner with the Werner Industries Company where he remained until 1921.

At present he is with the Cincinnati Board of Education.

Fred McCartney, overcoming all obstacles, spent six years in hard work at Indiana university. He says his dreams of usefulness have not been realized. However that may be, he has set an example for the other blind of our state, and of other states. His was the great task, and with infinite patience he kept at it. It is not a glorious thing he has done, but, nevertheless he deserves what he literally carved, by dint of hard chiseling: Fred McCartney, Indiana's first blind college graduate—1912.

The first blind woman in Indiana to complete a college course was Lola Lydia Walling, born in the village of Pennville, Jay county, Indiana, December 20, 1892. Her mother, Josephine Underwood Walling, was the daughter of Isaac Underwood, farmer, merchant, manufacturer, treasurer of Jay county, state representative, and state senator. He was a Master Mason, a Good Templar and a leader in the Quaker Church.

Lola's father, Lewis Grissell Walling, was the grandson of the founder of the town of Pennville, sometimes known as Camden and New Lisbon. The Grisells were all Hicksite Friends. Lewis Walling was a druggist and a farmer.

So it was in a home that used the plain language of thee and thou that this beautiful brown-eyed maiden, bearing the name so beloved of all Quakers, Lydia, was born. And if ever a child was born with the silver spoon, this girl was the subject of our sketch. She was the idol of all her relatives and they were a goodly array of worthy, enterprising citizens. Not only was she lovely of face, but she was lovable of disposition, talented and industrious.

The Walling home was noted for culture and refinement and its many social gatherings. It was a great, rambling house of twenty rooms, a wing of which was used by grand-

father and grandmother Underwood. Here, the golden-haired girl spent many happy hours listening to stories told by her aged grandfather, and in watching the process of cookie-making bread and pie-making, in which the grandmother was always engaged.

The great, old-fashioned attic was also one of her favorite places; for here were stored treasures of trunk, of chest, box, and drawer, the relics of many generations of Grisells, Wallings and Underwoods. Many of the things here had been brought from "way back east." This attic was typical of the many attics of the old town.

The library, too, was a place where the child spent many hours; for here were the large oil paintings, the portraits of her ancestors, gazing down at her from their great gold frames. Here, too, were the cases of specimens and relics that had been continuously in her father's family for more than a century. Often she had been tempted to open those glass cases and to take out the cherished specimens; but there was ever the strict admonition of her father checking that desire. It was this: "Lola, thee must not look with thy fingers, look with thy eyes."

In after years those words were to be vividly recalled by all the family: Thee must not look with thy fingers. It was literally the very thing that she was forced to do. When Lola was just beginning the eighth grade she had an attack of the Grippe which lasted many weeks. When she recovered from this, it was found that she was semi-blind. All that medical skill could do was tried; but of no avail. She is, today, unable to read; or to do close work of any kind, though she distinguishes faces and objects, and travels everywhere unaided.

Although the shock of this misfortune was terrible for the parents, the mother, with true heroism, set to work. She was determined that Lola should have the education that now seemed so unattainable. The living-room of the Walling home was converted into a class-room, provided with black-boards, charts, maps, globes, and all things pertaining to school work.

So carefully and thoroughly did this mother instruct the daughter that, although she was present in the public school

but a few days of the nine month session, she was enabled to finish with her class, at the eighth grade commencement, carrying off first honors; in fact taking highest rank in Penn township, and second highest in Jay county.

During the vacation Lola continued her piano lessons under competent instruction of Mrs. Nellie Place Chandler and Mrs. Edna Line Gordon. The notes being read to her, then played for her, she quickly memorized them. Even at that age, she was considered a very remarkable pianist. Mrs. Gordon has often declared that Lola Walling was the aptest music pupil she ever found.

Lola entered the School for Blind at Indianapolis, taking the literary course. She had to acquire the point system, and accustom herself to this new mode of living in a community of blind, where lights at night were not a necessity, as the inmates walked by remembering each detail of the building; and where looking with the fingers was the only way.

She spent five years here, not only taking the piano instruction which the school afforded, but having a private teacher as well. Her musical instruction now was in the point system.

Lola's mother had learned point and typing, and was enabled to keep up a correspondence with her which was very encouraging and helpful; and lessened the homesickness from which she sometimes suffered. She graduated on the honor roll.

Now came a time for decision. Lola wished to go to college. There was but one way to accomplish this, and with her wonted unselfishness the mother disposed of the matter. She would go to college with her daughter.

Mrs. Walling's brother, Charles Underwood, was professor of sacred history at Butler college. The mother and daughter decided to attend Butler. Accordingly she arranged her household affairs in the little home town and, taking her son Kenneth, now in high school, the three of them became domiciled in Irvington.

Lola registered at Butler college, and the mother began her duties of reader, secretary, critic, housekeeper and companion for the daughter in college, and the son in high school.

Every book that was required of her, each lesson, each reference, extra line of work, examination, theme, was attended to by this careful mother. Eyes and soul she was striving to help the girl who had been deprived of her vision. How well she succeeded has been proven.

Lola completed the four years' course, majoring in English, and she was one of the honor graduates of 1917. The mother, having had only the advantages of the common schools, returned to the village of Pennville with a college education. True, she did not receive a parchment and her name was never on any roll of honor or engraven on cup or medal. But with Cornelia of old, she had proven that her children were her jewels, and as such she considered that no sacrifice was too great for their sakes. Modestly she slipped back home, and into her old place among her neighbors.

After completing the course at Butler Miss Walling continued piano instruction under the best professors, and is now prepared to give recitals. When at home she assists in home talents, club and church and lodge programs. Her name is always a drawing card, but she is very modest and prefers to play for her home folks and the old family friends.

For four years she has been a teacher in the School for Deaf and Blind at Cedar Spring, South Carolina, where she has endeared herself to all, and where her talents have added much to cheer the pupils who are found there.

## Historical News

By INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

Upon invitation of the county superintendents of public schools of Boone, Grant, Fulton, St. Joseph, Carroll and De-kalb counties, the subject of state and local history was presented to the teachers in connection with the regular sessions of the county teachers' institute, Harlow Lindley, director of the Indiana Historical Commission, speaking before the first five and B. J. Griswold of Ft. Wayne in Dekalb county.

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Dr. John W. Oliver, who had been director of the Indiana Historical commission since 1918, tendered his resignation in May to accept the headship of the department of history in the University of Pittsburgh. To take his place as director, the Indiana Historical commission has chosen Prof. Harlow Lindley, who has been head of the department of history in Earlham college for a number of years. He has also been director of the department of history and archives, and secretary of the Indiana Historical commission since their creation.

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Esther U. McNitt, assistant in the department of history and archives of the State library, has been made director of the department, and as such becomes the ex-officio member of the Indiana Historical commission.

The Society of Indiana Pioneers and the members of the Indiana Historical Society made a pilgrimage to Ft. Wayne and the surrounding historical region June 14-15.

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Plans are well under way for the annual all-state history conference which will be held in Indianapolis at the Claypool hotel, Friday and Saturday, December 7 and 8. The annual meeting of the Indiana Historical society will be held Friday forenoon followed by a membership luncheon. The program of the afternoon will be devoted to state historical work em-

phasizing the state historical and archeological survey, and historical work in the schools. An historical pageant is planned for the Friday evening session and the history section of the Indiana State Teachers' association will prepare the program for Saturday forenoon. There will be a session Saturday afternoon and the conference will close with the annual dinner and meeting of the Society of Indiana Pioneers.

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On Sunday, July 1, there was re-dedicated in the Turkey Run state park the old Bristle Ridge log church which had been moved from its original site four miles north of Turkey Run. The old church has been restored just as it originally stood and is now a part of the state property, dedicated as an open undenominational church.

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The Paul Dresser memorial incorporated for the purpose of erecting a suitable memorial to the writer of our state song, is making an appeal to all citizens of the state to contribute a small sum for the early accomplishment of the project. The United States Trust Company of Terre Haute has been designated to receive contributions.

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During the summer months six historical pageants have been prepared and given in Indiana. The first of these was presented at Rockport, Spencer county, July 26, and was written and directed by Mrs. C. D. Ehrman, secretary of the Southwestern historical society of Indiana and curator of the Spencer County historical society. The title of the pageant was "The Hanging Rock," being the original name for Rockport. The pageant was divided into eight scenes or episodes.

On August 3 at Centerville was given the pageant entitled "The Call of Oliver P. Morton," which has been mentioned in connection with the Morton centennial celebration.

August 16 was the date of the pageant presented at Tipton on home-coming day under the auspices of the Tipton County historical society. The pageant depicted faithfully the main events in the history of the county and was written by Marie Purvis, assistant librarian of the Tipton Public library.

On the grounds of the Friends church at Mooresville on the evening of August 18 there was given a pageant entitled "The Spirit of Faith." It was the centennial pageant of White Lick meeting of Friends and was written by a committee under the direction of Clara Sellars and was directed by Miss Sellars. Not only was the history of this particular meeting presented, but it gave a true picture of the history of Quakerism in Indiana.

Randolph county's historical pageant, written by Esther Janett Simon, was given at Funk's park, two miles west of Winchester, on the evening of August 30. Almost one thousand persons took part in the pageant, and about five thousand people witnessed the presentation.

As a prelude to the annual home-coming at New London, Ind., a pageant written by Violetta Cosand and Lilith Farlow was presented Saturday evening, September 1, the history of New London in a series of episodes that carried the development of the community from the first settlement to the present time.

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August 4 witnessed the centenary celebration of the birth of Oliver P. Morton, Indiana's first native born governor. The event was celebrated at Terre Haute, Tipton, Indianapolis, and Centerville, the celebration at the latter place being the one elaborate event in this connection and was shared in by Wayne county generally and by people from all over the state, Governor Morton having been born in Wayne county near Centerville and having spent his life there until he became governor. Among those making addresses were Governor Warren T. McCray, Ex-Governor Goodrich, Senator James E. Watson and William Dudley Foulke, Morton's biographer. A pageant entitled "The Call of Oliver P. Morton" written and directed by Bessie Buhl of Centerville was presented in a very successful way.

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Under the active leadership of Dr. P. G. Moore, president of the Wabash County historical society, 106 members have been added to the Indiana historical society.

The Putnam County historical society was organized June 27 with Jesse W. Weik as president and Prof. W. W. Sweet as secretary. The society prepares to observe in an appropriate manner the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Greencastle.

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On August 28 following an address before the Dekalb County teachers' institute by B. J. Griswold, of Ft. Wayne, on local history, there was organized a Dekalb County historical society with Dr. W. F. Shoemaker of Butler as president, and Jay F. Olinger of Auburn as secretary.

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Early in the summer the Indiana Historical Commission issued *Bulletin No. 17*, containing the proceedings of the Fourth annual conference on Indiana history.

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The distribution of volume IX of the *Indiana Historical Collections*, being volume 2 of Esarey's *Governor's Messages and Letters*, was made in July. The volume, comprising 772 pages, covers the period of 1812-1816, completing the territorial period.

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In August the Indiana Historical Commission published volume X of its *Collections* entitled *A Sergeant's Diary* by Elmer F. Straub, a daily diary kept by an Indiana man who served in the 138th Field Artillery during the World war. The volume contains 156 pages. <sup>ML</sup>

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# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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## My Childhood and Youth in the Early Days of Indiana

By G. W. H. KEMPER, M. D., Muncie

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I was born in Richland township, Rush county, Indiana, December 16, 1839. I was the tenth child in a family of eleven children, four sons and seven daughters. A daughter and a son died in their youth. My parents removed from Garrard county, Kentucky, to Rush county, in October, 1834. Eight children of the family were born in Kentucky and three in Indiana. Seven children came with my parents to this state, and one, a sister, was left in a churchyard at the former home.

If, by any means, I could have been given a choice of time and place for my birth, I would now have no reason to change either. I have lived in a wonderful period of the world's history. The memory of my past life is very dear to me.

My father was an ardent Whig, and named me for General William Harrison. The nickname "Tip," clung to me nearly as long as it did to the distinguished President.

I distinctly remember that in 1844, when a Democratic delegation passed our home going to Rushville, that my father stationed me on a large gate post near the roadside with a flag which I was instructed to wave as I shouted for Henry Clay. I often wondered why my father named me for Harrison, who was not a candidate for a second time until 1840, but it is a fact that Harrison was nominated at Harrisburg,

Pa., in December, 1839, the only instance when a candidate for president was nominated the year preceding the election. Since the telegraph at that time was not in successful operation, my father must have learned by the newspapers of his selection, in time to name me for him.

The country boy is to be congratulated. He is in touch with nature, and removed from the temptations and artificial life of the city. Eighty-three years ago the average Indiana country home was a quiet and charming retreat and its primitive surroundings were calculated to impress and mould the minds of the children who were reared amid such simple and inspiring influences. Nervous prostration was unknown in those homes.

It was the good fortune of the author first to see the light in one of these homes. The house was a plain frame building by the side of a country road, about half a mile from the junction of Rush and Decatur counties, and one mile north of Clarksburg in Decatur county. At the date indicated, and for some years afterward the present village of Richland was known as Palmyra. In time this ancient name gave place to the present modern name. Generally, those who passed our home were on horseback or in farm wagons, rarely in buggies. Around this home I saw the green grass, meadows, cornfields, wheatfields, and other crops common to farm life. I saw shade trees in the dooryard, a nearby orchard, and in every direction large forest trees, in fact, among my early associates were giant forest trees. Much of the land was "cleared" and yet the standing timber was so abundant that only one or two homes of neighbors were visible.

An open well supplied an abundance of cool water drawn in a "moss covered bucket" with the aid of an old time well sweep. Near the house were flower beds decorated with roses, marigolds, hollyhocks, pinks, black-eyed Susans, and other varieties of old-fashioned flowers. Along the highways the dogfennel grew without the least encouragement, and some pessimistic farmers even predicted that this wretched weed would eventually "take the country."

Inside the house were beds, bureaus, chests, and other articles of primitive furniture. Beneath the bed occupied by

my parents was the usual trundle-bed. During the day this was pushed to its place, and at night it was drawn from its retreat, and upon it in early infancy I passed my sleeping hours. If I chanced to roll out of bed I sustained but trifling injuries. A garret so low that adult persons must stoop at the highest point, and rafters like hands in prayer, "or the lifting up of hands at the evening sacrifice," were slanting upward on either side from floor to the cone, the full length of the house.

This home cathedral was a favorite resort for play in the day time, and as I grew in years for slumber at night. Often have I been lulled to sleep by the rain pattering upon the shingles only a few inches above my head. In later life, when cares and responsibilities have banished repose, how often have I longed for the quiet sleep of that old garret.

Donald G. Mitchell, in his beautiful word pictures in "Dream Life" speaking of the protecting power of the garret roof says:

Under the rooftree of his home the boy feels safe,

and then he propounds the question without giving an answer:

Where in the whole realm of life with its bitter toil and its bitterer temptations, will he feel safe again?

To supper at last the farmer goes,  
The apples are pared, the paper read,  
The stories told, then all to bed.  
Without the crickets ceaseless song  
Makes shrill the silence all night long.

The rooms of our home were ceiled without any plastering. The walls were nearly bare; the era of chromos had not appeared. There were three cheap pictures, (they cost one dollar a-piece in those days; could be purchased now for ten cents,) George Washington, Andrew Jackson, and Henry Clay hung in conspicuous places. So rare were pictures in those days that I can recall my childish delight when I became the possessor of a small colored picture showing the face of a woman. It was wrapped around a cake of shaving soap that my father had purchased. There were three large fireplaces in the home, sitting room, parlor, and kitchen.

A facetious statement appeared recently in a country paper, that we now rise with alarm clocks, when we used to waken when we heard mother pounding the beefsteak with a saucer. My father was an early riser, and soon the entire family was astir. In the winter season, when I awoke in the early morning, I saw an immense wood fire roaring and crackling like a huge bonfire. I would seize my clothes and hurry to this cheerful fireside, that seemed to say "good morning," in order to complete my toilet, and while dressing was compelled to keep turning around like a Mohammedan dervish in order to distribute over my body the excessive heat.

Sit with me by the homestead hearth  
And stretch the hands of memory forth  
To warm them at the wood-fire's blaze!

WHITTIER

At this early day, the cooking stove was a stranger to our home. The cooking was done on the hearth of the kitchen fireplace. I have seen my mother and older sisters bake bread before a bright "reflector," a large curved surface of bright tin placed before a hot fire. Usually bread was baked in ovens on the hearth while coals of fire were placed beneath and heaped upon the top of it. I never saw baker's bread until after I was twelve years of age. Meats, vegetables, and other articles of food were cooked in skillets and pots arranged over the fire. I have no remembrance of a meal in my father's home when cornbread was not served. Oh, the memory of those delicious corn pone loaves! Hot from the oven, they were toothsome. At "butchering time" these pones were given an extra touch of flavor by interspersing a few "cracklings" among them, much like the government scatters red and blue threads through its bright paper currency. In the course of a few years a cooking stove was duly installed in our kitchen and soon became one of the home delights.

We never patronized a city meat shop; our "smokehouse" was an ample larder and supplied bacon, lard, beef, etc., from the farm. Chickens and turkeys, like Topsy "just growed," and were abundant. High price of living was not then a fanciful conception, and had anyone ventured an opinion that per-

sons were then living who would see chickens sell at two dollars a-piece, he would have been laughed to scorn.

Hominy was home-made, the corn was crushed in a large improvised wooden mortar.

The rooms were lighted by the aid of the open fire, and tallow dips, a rag immersed in melted lard or tallow in a small open dish. Later, my mother would use candle wick; fastening the two ends to a stretcher she would pour melted tallow over the wick. From time to time the melted tallow was poured over the growing candle until it grew to the desired size. Finally a new revelation appeared in the neighborhood, a candle mold that would make three candles at one filling! A little later a mold that would produce six candles, and then twelve, appeared, when it seemed that the high tide in lighting had come to our home. The candles were lit as darkness supervened. The assembling of public gatherings was announced or advertised at early or late candle lighting. "At early candle lighting" was a stereotyped phrase for the beginning of church services. A pair of snuffers was a complement to the candlestick.

At the period named, it was proper to carry food to the mouth upon the knife, if the cutting edge was turned from the lips. We innocently ate pie with knife and fork, like Henry Ward Beecher, "were no more afraid of cutting our throats with a knife than we were of poking out our eyes with a fork." Tea and coffee were poured from the cup into the saucer and drank from that dish. The cup rested in a little "tea plate" same as the dish of the present day in some families for serving butter.

Oh, the pleasures of memory! More than three-quarters of a century have elapsed since I first saw the light in that old home. All the buildings have been razed, and new ones erected in their places, but I still make occasional pilgrimages to the farm now owned by strangers, where once every object was so familiar and dear to my boyish gaze.

O, I love the world I have entered in,  
For the world is passing sweet,  
But I miss the world I used to know,  
The world that is under my feet.

JAMES G. GABLE

The pioneer people took time for the common amenities of every-day life. People drove slowly and cautiously, and neighbors had time to stop and chat when they met on the highways; strangers were saluted. Few carried watches, and sun time was fast enough; men could look at the sun and approximate the time for all necessary purposes. Standard time was a long way off. It was when

The woods were lit up by great burning logs,  
And acorns rained down to fatten the hogs,  
When log-rollings, raisings and quiltings were rife,  
When many a Jehu courted his wife.  
When folks 'went to meetin' in a wagon or cart,  
And log school houses were miles apart;  
When boys went to mill on the old gray mare  
And waited for hours for their 'grinding' there.

JOHN S. ELLIS

If sickness came into the neighborhood, the sick were not neglected and by turns the farmers or their wives served as nurse night after night. Nor, were the sick alone remembered; visits were interchanged between the well. Often my father and mother, mounted on horses would ride to a neighbor's home two or three miles distant, and spend the entire day. It was generally my privilege to accompany them, riding behind my mother. These were genuine social visits, and not fashionable calls, and were returned in the same manner. Sometimes the horses were hitched to the farm wagon, and this supplied with chairs furnished a conveyance for other members of the family. In this manner we often went to church, or on a more pretentious visit.

There were no regular undertakers in our neighborhood. When a person died, a messenger was immediately dispatched, with measurments, to a cabinet-maker who proceeded to make a coffin from walnut lumber. At the funeral the neighbors came with wagons, carriages, and on horseback to accompany the bereaved friends to the cemetery. The corpse was conveyed in a farm wagon. Some person who was handy on such occasions conducted the burial movements. All tarried until the grave was filled, and a clergyman pronounced the benediction. Little acts of kindness did not terminate when the body was laid away, but the family was remembered.

My father died August 31, 1849, and he was buried two days later in a village cemetery one mile distant. His coffin was made of walnut lumber, without covering or handles. It was conveyed to the cemetery in our farm wagon, driven by a neighbor, Mr. John Lowry. I rode to the cemetery in this wagon sitting by the side of my father's coffin. Friends dug the grave, as there was no regular sexton. I presume the funeral expenses all told, were much less than twenty dollars.

It was the first open grave I had ever seen. The coffin containing the body of my father was lowered into the earth, and I heard the hollow sound as the clods covered it from my sight. We had been inseparable companions, and I was to see his form no more. I was to go through life deprived even of a picture of his face, as he never had one taken.

The daguerreotype had just appeared, and ambrotypes and photographs were unknown in our neighborhood. So clear is my memory of his features that if he were to rise from the dead before me, after nearly seventy-five years, I believe I would recognize him. The sorrows of childhood do not heal by the first intention, but time closes the wounds, and the scars gradually grow dim!

I found new companions in the company of my mother and a younger sister. My mother was a priestess in her family. She was a devoted parent and every one of her children found a home in the church.

My father, being a Kentuckian, "was given to hospitality." No person came to our home near a meal hour that was not invited and urged to take a place at our table. It was a stopping place for ministers of every denomination. He, as well as his horse, was fed. If the evening shades were gathering, the prophet's "little chamber, bed, table, stool and candle-stick" were provided. I remember the visits of Rev. James Havens, and other pioneer ministers at our home.

How quickly are the names of early pioneers forgotten, and yet there were noble men and women who lived in former days and performed acts of courage and mercy that would entitle them to a Carnegie medal at this day. They lived, loved, and suffered hardships in clearing up forests, making highways, building schoolhouses and churches for coming gen-

erations. We cannot praise them too much. Their deeds are unrecorded, their names, often, not mentioned, and they sleep in unmarked graves. A large majority of them might be classified as "unnoticed lives." There have been saints who never were canonized; and heroes who never were laurel crowned.

There were no daily papers circulating in our region in those days. In fact, I am not sure that a daily paper was seen in our neighborhood in the forties. The first weekly in Indiana, was the *Indiana Gazette*, established at Vincennes in 1804. It subsequently became the *Sun*. As a compensation, it was common for neighbors to spend evenings together and talk over the news and common gossip of the day. Usually there was some one in the neighborhood who could help to enliven the occasion by playing upon the violin. I have heard, many times, the invitation, "Come over some evening soon, and bring your fiddle with you." The music was not rendered by note, but rather by ear, and the commonest ragtime variety. However, it served a purpose. The first melodeon that came into the neighborhood was an object of much interest.

There were good conversationalists in those times. There was no censorship on subjects, and the theme, often, was discussed in a startling manner. I can remember, although I was not quite four years old, how my childish fears were greatly exercised by the great comet of 1843. Many were living at that time who had seen the "stars fall" in 1833, and could tell stories that would make sensations up and down the spine. This was known as the "Comet of 1843" and also the "Great Comet." It appeared suddenly, unheralded, in the northern heavens and occasioned much anxiety throughout the country. It was of immense size, and many feared that it might strike the earth and cause dire calamities. Well, it might with its

Ten millions cubic miles of head,  
Ten billions leagues of tail.

Ghosts were discussed pro and con in a most exciting manner, often calculated to make my young blood run cold. While

I never chanced to meet one, the subject was often on my mind, for as Doctor Johnson said:

Nobody believes in ghosts but everybody fears them.

In 1848, the Fox Sisters of Hydesville, New York, suddenly started the agitation concerning "spirit rappings." This opened up a new field for excitement in many homes, and led to a diligent search for "mediums." For a time it seemed that the dead would appear, bringing "Airs from heaven or blasts from hell," as arguments waxed warm in regard to the source from which these mysterious manifestations came. A few believed; more doubted. Dr. Holland said of Longfellow's "Excelsior," that "it sounded like the truth, but it was a lie," and so it was with this transient hoax.

The proper time for planting corn was a practical question for evening debates. It was generally understood that the ground should be properly prepared, and as soon as the oak leaves were as large as squirrel's ears, or dog wood blossoms were fully expanded that corn should be in the ground. Growing crops were watched, and as at the present day the pessimist was abroad in the land.

As weather reports had not been anticipated in those days, men learned to "discern the face of the sky," and so there were weather prophets in every neighborhood, who were supposed with some degree of certainty to foretell the condition of the weather the next day. The advice of these "Wiseacres" was sought when the sky looked threatening, and the meadow was to be attacked.

The Mexican war came in for its share of military criticism. Whigs were disposed to regard it as an unjustifiable war, while Democrats were sure that it was. These, and many other topics were considered and discussed at the pioneer home firesides during the long winter evenings. Politics, education, books, religion, etc., were practical matters at all times, and often the greatest zeal was manifested. Many of these little things mentioned, are little only in name. They are full of rich meaning. They illustrate classes of men and ages of time.

In those days the churches were wont to attack the doctrines of each other, and public debates were common. Men and women would go miles, and spend days in order to hear champions argue disputed creeds. Persons came back with their opinions unchanged. Modes of baptism was a favorite theme. A few years ago I saw in a second-hand book store an old volume which I purchased as a curiosity; it is the report of a debate on baptism, etc., by Rev. Alexander Campbell, and Rev. N. L. Rice. It was held in Lexington, Kentucky, during eighteen days of November and December, 1843. The book contains 912 pages, octavo, of small type. These good men have been in Heaven many years, and now, doubtless, are as little disturbed about the mode of baptism as they are whether passengers travel to Washington over the Baltimore & Ohio, or the Pennsylvania lines!

It was many years before Christians learned the lesson that spiritual ammunition should be used against the world, and not the church. Such was the prejudice and bias of those days that as a child, I thought the Methodists would certainly have a monopoly in the heavenly kingdom. There were great divines in all churches in those days, men who could by sermons "awaken sinners," and confirm the faithful believers; but too often the churches were seclusive, a marked contrast with the present day when frequently the churches of every denomination are united in one common work, forgetting the non-essentials. I think one of the greatest influences for the unity and good feeling of the churches of the present day is the leavening movement of the work of laymen, men and women, the power of the common people, so different from the clerical bigotry of former days.

The people were temperate and God fearing in my neighborhood. I never saw a saloon until I was sixteen years old, and I seldom saw an intoxicated man. As in the day of the Judges:

Every man did that which was right in his own eyes

in regard to liquor in his home. It takes the American saloon to blight the conscience of any community.

Those were wonderful days in which to live. Folks got religion at the old time camp-meetings and lived godly lives.

Men lived with one wife, and seldom ran away with another woman. When a man and a woman got married it meant that they were husband and wife until death dissolved the union. A divorce was a neighborhood gossip and a family scandal. Persons were content to endure their present ills rather than "fly to those they knew not of" and rarely committed suicide. The simple life was lived with no inclination to risk wild speculation, and one asylum of moderate dimensions was sufficient to hold all the insane in the state. Now we have in Indiana five large public and numerous private institutions, all crowded with lunatics, while doctors and humanitarians are pleading for more room and money. There are crazy people in our jails awaiting their turn to be admitted into a madhouse. And yet, with our present-day turmoil, and a promiscuous and indiscriminate scramble toward hades, we are told that the world is actually growing better!

The small boy on the farm was a valuable asset. I gathered eggs from the haymows and hidden nests, carried drinking water for those who toiled in the fields, took my turn at the dasher of the upright churn, and watched anxiously for the forming specks of butter, carried in stove wood, helped to carry in sugar water at the camp, where, as our sweet "Hoosier Poetess," Louisa Chitwood said:

When the fire flashed bright  
'Neath the kettle at night,  
Lighting the woods with a crimson light,  
And the circling eddies of golden foam  
Were sweet and rich as the honey comb.

I helped to catch the geese for my mother and others to pick, and assisted in washing the wool at the sheep shearing season. However, it was not all work. In the fall season I laid in a full supply of hickory nuts, walnuts, and chinquapin acorns. When quite a small boy, I often went to mill on a sack of shelled corn thrown across the back of an old family mare, and brought back the products, less the toll of corn meal. In time, I enjoyed the exciting sport of coon hunting

with my older brothers. Possibly those who were disturbed in their sleep thought differently, as expressed in Riley's lines:

Neighborhood made some complaints  
'Bout them plague-gone hounds at night  
Howlin' fit to wake the saints  
Clean from dusk tel plum daylight!

It was a great privilege to go barefooted in summer time; the only drawback was the necessary foot washing at bed-time when drowsiness was a hindrance. I believe the feet of children acquire a more natural growth by this training. I have no personal experience with corns. I have gone to the meadow in the early frosty morning to drive the cows home for milking, and find my feet so cold that I would start the cows homeward, and then linger to warm my feet on the warm grass where the animals had lain.

I have often watched my mother in her chemical experiments for manufacturing soft soap. With all our improvements of the present day we have no soaps that clean better than the old time soft soap. In fact, more of the soft soap and religion of our mothers' would go far toward improving the present world!

In the forties, transportation was limited in this state. Really, we were not much in advance of the days of Homer, when they depended upon "hoof and sail." My father hauled his produce to Cincinnati, about one hundred miles, and exchanged it for groceries. The first railroad in the state, from Madison to Indianapolis, was not constructed until the year 1844. When the Whitewater canal was completed as far as Metamora and Laurel, it seemed as though little more in the way of markets would be desired. These towns were only twelve miles from our farm, and at once became trading points. Laurel had a woolen mill and exchanged woolen goods for our raw wool. I remember my astonishment when I saw a canal boat for the first time. But the canal was evanescent, and in due time was supplanted by more rapid transportation.

The Whitewater canal was turned over in 1842 to a company organized to complete it. It was finished to Brookville in 1843, to Connersville in 1845, and to Cambridge City in 1846. The valley was too steep, and it was found impossible to hold the canal. A flood in 1847

did \$100,000 damage, and the repairs for a single flood in the next year cost \$80,000. The Whitewater Valley railroad paralleled it in 1865, and forever put it out of business.—Esarey's *History of Indiana*.

I have a distinct recollection of the visits of Dr. Bell, an old time physician, to my father's home. His saddle-bag and bottles were quite a novelty to me. With a little spatula he would remove from different bottles powders and mix these together, and then divide the mass into as many doses as he desired. Sometimes he gave medicine in pill form, and occasionally in fluids. Sometimes roots and barks were made into infusions and decoctions. Domestic remedies played a prominent part in the early days. I have accompanied by father to the woods in the early fall and helped to collect boneset for use in autumnal fevers. This was cut near the ground, tied in bunches, and these hung to rafters in the garret. When occasion seemed to require, a tea was prepared from this dried plant for the patient who was required to drink more or less of this bitter decoction. Oh, the memories of childhood days when I fairly wrestled with boneset tea, and "pink and senna!" Lobelia was often resorted to by the laity as an emetic. Before the days of anesthetics which were unknown prior to 1846, an emetic of lobelia was occasionally administered to patients who had suffered a dislocation, in order to relax the muscles and aid in reduction.

Venesection, or bleeding from the arm was a common-procedure three-quarters of a century ago. Doctors believed in it and the people as well. Possibly no remedy was more popular in its day than "bleeding." So popular was venesection among the masses in those days that had one of the political parties declared in its platform for this remedy it would have served a good purpose in augmenting the vote. Many of the laymen were provided with lancets, and in the absence of the doctor, used them freely when in their judgment occasion seemed to demand. Patients with fever and other diseases were universally bled. Persons were bled for unconsciousness after accidents, and it was the popular remedy for old or young when seized with a fit of any description.

On a Sunday in the early forties, a number of neighbors met incidentally at my father's home. Among these was an

older married sister whose young son had failed to grow normally. Mr. Hite, a justice of the peace, one of the learned men of the community, was present and suggested that the child should be treated by passing it through an artificial opening in a tree. This was a common procedure at that period for a supposed disease known to the laity as the "short growth." As there was no objection "to healing on the Sabbath day," an opening was soon made through one of the locust trees in our door yard, and the child was passed through the fissure. I well remember my astonishment at the sight of this charmed therapeutic agent as I daily passed it for many years afterward. The boy lived to be eleven years old, and died of dysentery during the severe epidemic of this disease, which prevailed in southeastern Indiana, in the fall of 1851.

In eruptive fevers, especially measles, where the eruption was delayed, a tea made of sheep's dung, popularly known as "nanny tea," was a household remedy. Numerous persons could attest the efficacy of this vaunted specific. Apparently, "they had tried it on the dog." There are younger physicians than I, who have been called to see patients where a hand or a foot was poulticed in fresh cow's dung! Possibly, more than one person at the present day had observed a pan of water under the bed of a patient for the purpose of checking night sweats.

Charm doctors were patronized and received fees in the early days, especially if they showed a pedigree of a seventh son; and similar fakes dressed in different uniforms exist at the present day. There are as many quacks, and vaunted remedies at this day as there were in pioneer days. Notwithstanding our public schools and colleges people are just as gullible as formerly. They even buy gold bricks at the present time!

Many persons believe implicitly in the effects of the light, and the dark of the moon. Hogs must be slaughtered at certain times or else the bacon would shrink. Even a worm fence was under the influence of the moon. It was an unfortunate affair with some to see the new moon through an obstructed vision. As a physician, I have often been asked as to the

proper sign of the zodiac in which to wean babies. I believe the knowing ones say when it is in the thighs. There is an English belief that death is more common with the flow of the tide. So Dickens in the popular feeling, makes Mr. Barkis go out with the waves into the great ocean of death.

The madstone, an aluminous shale, or sometimes a small bone from the heart of a wild deer, was deemed valuable as a remedy for hydrophobia, snake-poison, and certain septic affections. Many people formerly set great store by this worthless fraud. Quite recently a man called at my office and offered to sell me a mad-stone at a fabulous price. There were a select few who could "blow the fire" out of persons who had suffered burns, and others who could arrest hemorrhage, even at a distance, by uttering certain cabalistic words. It was not an uncommon circumstance to see persons with a forked peach tree twig, held by both hands, parading over a spot of ground in order to locate the site for a well of water. It was always proper to send some member of the household to make the dog stop its howling, and thus avert a death in the family. Many can remember when it was a common affair to see the horseshoe posted in some conspicuous place about the house. How many people believe that wedding rings rubbed on the eye will cure styes? That a copper wire around the waist, or a buckeye carried in the pocket prevents rheumatism? That red flannel (must be *red*) is good for sore throats! That malaria is due to night air? These, and a hundred other equally as foolish notions are current at the present day.

Education is not always a preventive of superstition, nor does it necessarily result in moral or religious growth. A few years ago, one of the supreme judges of the state of New York made himself ridiculous by reasons of his superstitious credence. Possibly as a survival of the fittest specimen of superstition is the dread of many educated people of the present day as they approach the small sized banquet table, until a careful count shows less or more than thirteen persons!

At the age of six years, I was started to school. This was before the day of our existing public school system. The foundation of our present free school method was established in 1852, based on the provisions of our new constitution of

the state of Indiana. The schools I first attended were known as "Subscription Schools." Patrons of the school would "sign" one or more scholars, the signing being a pledge for the particular number and payment was required, whether the pupil attended or remained at home. In some instances, the patron would sign one scholar, and send others, and in such cases the scholars not pledged, were charged with their total attendance. In order to keep the accounts correctly the roll was called at the close of each days session, and the scholars were marked present or absent.

The nearest schoolhouse was one mile distant. The path to reach it led through fields and a woodland. My companions were an older brother, during the winter, and sisters both winter and summer. We climbed over a number of fences, passed through fields, and crossed one or two brooks. Through the dense woods my father had blazed the trees, in order that we might not stray from the path. The blazing of the trees consisted in chipping off a piece of the bark on two sides of the trees, so that these denudations could be seen going or coming. In time, this footpath became so well known that every object along its way became familiar; morning and evening stumps and trees appeared like old acquaintances.

At the present day when I see school children trudging along the busy, dusty streets of our cities, nervously listening for the tardy bell, I think of the many lessons in nature they fail to read for want of country walks. I sympathize with the boy or girl who never went to a country school; likewise those at the present day who ride to country schools in wagons. What a wonderful variety of object lessons we saw along that little path. It was a living, moving, and growing kindergarten of animals and trees. Froebel never created its equal! The daily walk was a drill for me, a "preparedness." In a few short years from that time I was dressed in a natty blue uniform and marching in the southland.

The schoolhouse, consisting of one room, was about thirty by sixty feet in size. It was constructed of logs hewn on two sides, and the chinks were filled with sticks and mortar; the roof was covered with shingles.

There was no belfry nor bell. A bell was not necessary; the children were always on time unless they remained at

home an hour or two to help mother with the washing. This was a sufficient excuse in those days. In many homes at the present day, clothes-washing is one of the lost arts.

The log schoolhouse has given way to more pretentious buildings. Many persons residing in Indiana never saw a log schoolhouse. In 1863 there were 1350 log schoolhouses in Indiana; in 1902 there were three. Recently, Mr. Sam. Scott, county superintendent of Clark county wrote me:

We have two log schoolhouses in Clark county. However, both have been "weather boarded over" so that the logs do not show. One in Oregon township used by white children, the other in Charlestown township used by the colored children.

I recall distinctly my first day at school, also my amazement at the surroundings of this wonderful schoolroom. I had seen fireplaces of the usual size in my own home, but in the north end of this room, I saw one of immense proportions, possibly seven feet across. In the winter time, here a great fire was fed with wood brought in by the big boys, until it shot forth flames, and roared like a veritable furnace of Moloch in the valley of Tophet! The next object that drew my attention was a large heating stove in the center of the room. It was the first heating stove I had ever seen, and its size impressed me with all the wonder that is recorded of the young frog in the fable, that saw the cow grazing in the meadow.

The seats were rough, and the backs consisted of a single narrow transverse strip, however, ordinarily, we were not crowded. Thoreau said he would rather sit on a pumpkin and have it all to himself, than to be crowded on a velvet cushion. I had plenty of room on the seat, and still more beneath, for, like Noah's dove, I found "no rest for the sole of my foot."

The usual branches taught at that period were reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar. The textbooks in use were Webster's spelling book, McGuffey's series of readers, Talbott's arithmetic, and Kirkham's grammar. Recently in reading Miss Tarbell's life of Lincoln, I notice that she gives praise to Kirkham's grammar as the source for Lincoln's training in the English language. Few persons at the present day are acquainted with this standard book. It is many years

since we parted and yet, somewhere in my brain cells I carry one of its lessons:

Language in its most extensive sense implies those signs by which men and brutes communicate to each other their thoughts, affections, and desires.

Considerable attention was given to spelling. When we remember that the schools were not systematically graded, we are surprised that teachers found time to instruct so many pupils.

Finally, my time came and I went to the teacher to "say my lesson." I had been provided with a brand-new book, Noah Webster's Elementary Spelling Book, in blue paper backs. It was a most wonderful book. In examining it some years later, I observed that the title-page boldly asserts that it is: "The cheapest, the best, and the most extensively used spelling book ever published." I presume that statement has never been challenged. Records show that sixty-two millions of copies of this book were issued.

At that early period teachers had not discovered the short cut to an education as at the present day, in teaching pupils to read before they learn their letters, so I began with the a, b, c's. With the blade of a little white handle knife, the teacher, Mr. William Hogue, pointed out each letter from a to z and I repeated the name after him.

On an opposite page of the book, I saw a picture of a teacher directing with her right hand a pupil who timidly holds to her left, to a hill upon which stands the Temple of Knowledge surmounted by a dome styled "Fame." I presume I considered the picture to be emblematical, and with my feet upon the first rung of the ladder, I began ascent. Dear old spelling books; in a few weeks its mysteries were unfolded to me page by page, until I arrived at its longest word: incomprehensibility! I had touched the hem of the garment of knowledge, and to a slight extent had felt some of its virtues.

One of the pleasant memories of my early school days, was the commendation of my father upon my return home at the close of the day. It was the gulf stream of love and en-

couragement warming up the latent energies of a youthful mind. Sitting upon his knees, I would recount to him how I had "turned a new leaf" in my day's lesson. His interest in my advancement was a great stimulus to my efforts. There came a day when, upon my return home I found my father was in bed, and I was told that he was sick. It was his final illness. I had made my last report to him concerning my victories, and was soon to learn a new lesson in life, my first bitter sorrow.

I had been in the school room but a short time when I saw several beech rods standing conspicuously in one corner. I confess that was anything but comforting. Like the "Mysterious Stranger" in Jane Taylor's story, who came from one of the celestial planets to reside upon the earth, and was pleased and undisturbed until he saw a cemetery and learned the sad story that death was the doom of all men, so the sight of these rods gave me apprehension for the future.

"The stick," says the Egyptian proverb, "came down from heaven." Had I known this information at that time, I would have inferred that I was "not far from the Kingdom." Finally, I came to the conclusion that whatever other inducements might have been offered in the selection of a site for this schoolhouse, that the greatest bonus presented, was the proximity of a large beech woods.

Both sexes were often punished by standing for a season upon the floor. One day little Miss L. a maiden of about twelve summers was standing upon the floor when her pantaloons suddenly fell to her ankles. Did she blush? Not at all. She got mad, disentangled one foot from the wreck, and with the other foot she kicked the garment across the room! Such was the discipline in the school at that time that this little mishap occasioned no ripple of merriment or excitement. If I tell tales out of school, remember it was many, many years ago. For minor offenses boys were compelled to sit among the girls, or the girls were required to sit with the boys.

We were never kept in after school hours. If a scholar transgressed, punishment was meted out at once. The teacher was an autocrat in the school room, and to use a military phrase, he "assumed command." The pupil was punished as

the teacher deemed proper, sometimes, we would say at the present day "severely," nay, I will add most cruelly, and yet, I can recall no instance where the parents attempted in the civil courts to prosecute the teacher. The extreme dislike of pupils and parents to active discipline in schools at this day, is in marked contrast with the prevailing sentiment of sixty, seventy, and eighty years ago.

I have been in perils inside, and outside the schoolroom. I have passed under the rod in times above measure. I have stood upon the floor until my muscles ached. I have been compelled to sit with the girls, and by the side of one whose hair was of the deepest auburn, and whose eyes showed a bad case of double strabismus. At the noon hour I have been chased out of farmer Higgin's orchard by dogs. I have been restricted in my excursions into Linville's meadow, because of the demonstrations of a vicious bull that roamed at will like a living personification of the Monroe Doctrine. As St. Paul says:

None of these things moved me.

Those were the days that antedated Roosevelt, and his enunciation of a "strenuous life," and yet, as I recall the stirring events of that period, I am almost led to believe that I stood upon its threshold.

Each day's work consisted of eight hours in the schoolroom. We had a short recess at the middle of the forenoon, and also the afternoon, and an intermission of one hour at noon. The usual games at these outings were marbles, town ball, bull pen, blind man's buff, pussy wants a corner, etc.

The scholars brought their luncheon, the dinner basket being carefully filled every morning on leaving home, with substantial food prepared by a mother's loving hands. The morning walk, added to the protracted fast from the early morning meal of the farmers' homes, gave us wonderful appetites. In disagreeable weather the schoolroom served as a temporary dining hall. In warm weather we sought the shade of the trees. These picnic occasions were enlivened by stories and country gossip.

I remember how one boy would detail to us portions of letters from an uncle who then was a soldier in Mexico giv-

ing accounts of hair's breadth escapes. How little did we then surmise that in a few more short years many of us would encounter greater conflicts on battle fields than were ever dreamed of by his uncle.

One day an older boy brought to school a round oblong wooden box with sand cemented to one of its ends. Inside this box were a number of small round sticks tipped at one end with sulphur. His father had recently visited Cincinnati and brought home with him this "strange fire." The boy called them "matches," and assured us that if he were to rub the end covered with sulphur against the rough end of the box, it would "take fire." He verified his statements by igniting a couple of them. Signor Blitz never startled an audience with one of his mysterious-slight-of-hand maneuvers more than was this group of school children at the sight of a spontaneous fire. Long since the striking of a match has lost its wonderment. Many a time on a hot summer's day when the fire had gone out on our hearth-stone, I had gone with a couple of boards to Mr. Evick's a neighbor, in order to borrow fire. At once, I realized that the match was an air line route to combustion, and that we were on the eve of a domestic revolution!

Spelling matches were a source of much enjoyment at the log schoolhouse. These were usually held at night, once or twice a month. On such occasions two were selected as captains; these would choose from among the scholars, and then the two classes would take positions on opposite sides of the room. Sometimes words were given out alternately from one side to the other, while all were standing, and those failing to spell the word correctly would sit down. At other times, one from each side would stand upon the floor until one would mis-spell the word and then be seated.

Quite often the parents of the children would attend these spelling bees, and manifest a great deal of interest in the contest. Occasionally a number of good spellers from one school would be pitted against an equal number from a neighboring school. Excitement of a mild character, would run high as the spelling progressed, and the visitors would be cheered. On dark nights the larger boys would provide hickory bark torches, and these would light the path for all.

Our pens were manufactured by the teacher from goose quills. Usually he was quite proficient in this art. The common small pocket-knife is called a penknife from its former use in making and mending quill pens. As the pen became worn, it was referred to the teacher for "mending." Often he would be engaged in making or mending a pen while a class was reciting. The teacher "set" copies for writing classes, and the teachers of that period took a pride in their penmanship.

Mr. John B. Hall, a native of the state of New York, was my second teacher. He was a cultured gentleman of a high order. He was competent to teach all branches taught in the country schools of those days. He wrote a beautiful hand. He was tall, rather spare, and died a few years later, a victim of tuberculosis.

The teachers we are considering, were remarkable men. Generally, they were well qualified to teach the required branches of study. They were strict disciplinarians, and their pupils made rapid progress under their instruction. I know of only one female teacher in the rural district.

For many little acts of kindness shown me, I record her name, Miss Angeline Donnell.

I am not a teacher, nor have I made the subject of teaching a study, consequently, I am unable to express an opinion as to a comparison of the mode of teaching half a century ago with the present day. I have no doubt that we have made great advancement. When I see magnificent schoolhouses at the present day, constructed not of rude logs, but of stone and brick, and know that their rooms are supervised by trained and experienced teachers, supported by our great common school law, I am inclined to exclaim: "What a high standard of education we have a right to expect and even demand."

I want to say a word of praise for the school readers of the early day. We will never know the great debt we owe to the McGuffey's series of readers for their educational and moral training. They combine prose and poetry, history, fiction, orations and biblical extracts of beauty and sublimity. What wonderful inspirations have been implanted in the minds of pupils in studying these selections. The testing

time in life is in the common every-day life, apparently, simple duty, and not in the great crises we may chance to meet.

There stands in the center of our capital city, a stately monument dedicated to the memory of "Indiana's Silent Victors." In its order it is said to be unsurpassed in the world. One of its inscriptions tells us that 4,585 of the sons of Indiana carried our flag to the national capital of Mexico. Another states that 210,497 of her sons followed that same flag for four years in a war to maintain the Union of the States.

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

And so, 24,416 of the sons of Indiana laid down their lives for their country. The deeds performed by these men were heroic, and their memory will survive so long as our nation endures. A comparatively small number of Indiana's soldiers were favored with a classical education; and as we revere the memory of our heroes, let us not forget that the rank and file, the men behind the guns, were the boys who came from our country schools of an early day, of log schoolhouses!

The cross-roads school, a rude affair,  
    Of oaken logs, rough hewed,  
Guards with the heart of loyalty  
    Its rustic solitude.  
Nor asks, nor hopes a fairer fate  
    Than the renown it hears  
Sung to the service of its sons  
    Across eventful years

GEORGE E. BOWEN

In the fall of 1848, I began to attend a school at Clarksburg, Decatur county, one mile from our farm. The building was a plastered, but unpainted frame structure, and yet it seemed to me a promotion. The teacher, was Mr. Nimrod Kerrick, a most excellent man and well qualified to instruct. Here, also discipline prevailed under the reign of the rod. Mr. Kerrick taught for several years, and finally entered the travelling ministry of the M. E. church. After some years he located at Bloomington, Illinois, and died there in December, 1897, at the age of 88 years. He wrote a beautiful hand;

some of his writing in an old copy book in my possession looks like a copper plate print. He trained us in reading classes, and often elaborated on the subjects about which we had read. His kindly talks to the class were very helpful to me. I remember an article in McGuffey's reader by Grimke, where he compares the lives of Lafayette and Robert Raikes, in which reference is incidentally made to the sacrifice of Elijah upon Mount Carmel. His graphic rehearsal of this bible story greatly impressed me. More than sixty years later, as I rode on horseback over the plain of Esdraelon, in Palestine, I saw Mount Carmel a short distance away, and the story told so vividly by my good teacher came up before me like a real object lesson.

A few words as to my after life. My future school days were few; and I never even graduated from a high school. However, I would not exchange my training in life which I have received for a diploma from Harvard university. I believe that a person deprived of the privilege of a collegiate course can acquire a fair knowledge of the English language by improving ordinary opportunities.

In September, 1856, when sixteen years of age I accompanied some of my relatives to Montezuma, Iowa. A year later I began and continued to work for two years in a printing office, *The Montezuma Republican*. This work was educational and an inspiration for me. I mastered every department of a country printing office, preserving a copy of every paper upon which I worked. Recently, I transferred these copies to the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines. It was in the printing office that I formed a resolution to study medicine.

In November, 1859, I returned to Indiana where I pursued my studies for one year in a common school at Greensburg, Indiana.

A few days after my twenty-first birthday, at Greensburg, Indiana, I entered upon the study of medicine, but soon was interrupted by the beginning of the Civil war. On the 15th day of April, 1861, Abraham Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers. Three days later I volunteered, and was one of that number. I served as a private soldier in

Company B, Seventh regiment, Indiana volunteers in the three months' service, and as such was in the first engagement of the Civil war, at Phillipi, Virginia, (now West Virginia), June 3rd, 1861. I went back to Phillipi, fifty years later to a semi-centennial celebration, June 3, 1911, and with comrades of the Blue and the Gray, celebrated the anniversary of the battle. At the close of this term of service, I re-enlisted in the Seventeenth regiment Indiana volunteers, (Wilder's Brigade) and served seventeen months as a hospital steward, and eighteen months as assistant surgeon of same regiment. My name is carved, with others, in granite on the Wilder monument on the battle field at Chickamauga.

After my army service, I attended a course of medical lectures at the University of Michigan, and a second course at the Long Island College Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y., where I graduated M. D. in June, 1865.

I located in Muncie in August, 1865, when at once I began the practice of medicine, and continued to practice more than fifty years. During the first four years my country trips were made on horseback. My practice was an arduous one.

I have been honored by my profession. In 1886, I was elected president of the Indiana State medical society, and presided at the session in 1887.

I have contributed more than fifty articles on medical topics for medical journals and medical societies. I have delivered several courses of lectures on the History of Medicine before classes of medical students, and at this time am Emeritus Professor of the History of Medicine in Indiana University.

In 1897, I wrote a booklet on the subject of *Uses of Suffering*, and in 1905 a small volume entitled the *World's Anatomists*. In 1911, I contributed a volume entitled *A Medical History of Indiana*.

I am historian of the Indiana State medical association. These literary efforts gave me a place in *Who is Who in America*.

In 1905, my wife and I visited Egypt, and Palestine, returning by way of Turkey, Greece and Europe.

I have not neglected the beauties and grandeur of my own native land.

In 1865, I was united in marriage to Miss Harriet Kemper, of Oskaloosa, Iowa. Four children were born to us, two sons and a daughter survive; one son died in babyhood. My wife and I shared together our joys, sorrows, and travels for nearly forty-nine years, when her earthly house of clay she forsook and entered the life everlasting.

I have served my country and my adopted city in several capacities.

I have not neglected my church obligations, serving among other duties as a Sunday School superintendent for twenty years. In 1916 I was a lay member of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, held at Saratoga Springs, New York. I have never allowed outside duties to cause me to forget that I was a physician. I have quitted the banquet table to relieve the suffering.

I have lived in a progressive period; one prolific in events and changes. I have been permitted to see many things and persons. I have seen kings, queens, and princes. I have looked into the faces of dead men and women who walked the earth about four or five thousand years ago. Doubtless, some of them conversed with Moses. I have entered cathedrals, mosques, and palaces, of kings, and seen the paintings of the great master painters.

At the time I was born, people rode in stage coaches. Railroads did not appear until a later date. I never saw a railroad until I was twelve years old, and did not ride on a train until I was sixteen. The telegraph and telephone were unknown.

I saw men and women thrusting the sickle into the ripened grain as was done in the days of the Psalmist, three thousand years ago. I saw the development of the grain cradle, and then the rude reaper, and finally the self-binder with its marvelous achievements.

In every department of science wonderful changes have been wrought in my time. Consider for a moment the advances made in medicine and surgery, anesthesia, the revelation in germ discoveries, the prevention of diseases, Lister's gospel of cleanliness, thwarting the ravages of diphtheria with antitoxins, as well as hundreds of new remedies, and improvements in surgical instruments.

I have seen men, women and children toiling in bondage because their skin was black, and have helped to break their shackles.

I have seen Abraham Lincoln and heard his talk. I have seen nearly all the Presidents from 1860 to 1920.

I have listened to Tom Corwin, the prince of political orators, Wendell Phillips, Anson Burlingame, Henry Wilson, Oliver P. Morton, and many others who thrilled the masses in the fifties and sixties of the last century.

A number of times I have heard Henry Ward Beecher in his own pulpit; and I have lost myself in ecstasy while listening to the heavenly themes of Bishop Simpson.

It is now more than eighty-three years since I first saw the light on the farm house I have described at the beginning of this booklet. My life has been one of industry, toil, and activity; sometimes I have met with hardships and occasional privation, and yet, my journey has mostly been through a sunny land. Surely goodness and mercy have ever been near me. The snows of eighty-three winters have whitened my locks, but my physical frame is fairly good considering my age.

## Indiana's Last October Campaign

By PAUL TINCHER SMITH, A. M., Purdue

Until after the election of 1880, the Indiana vote for the President had more than a casual importance; for, until 1881, Indiana was one of the "October" states. Moreover, Indiana was always one of the "doubtful" states, and the way it went in October was thought to be a sure index to the final result in November. It was common to hear the remark, "the way Indiana and New York go, so goes the nation."<sup>1</sup> Indeed it was not mere supposition on the part of politicians that led them to believe that Indiana indicated something of importance in October, for from the time Indiana began to vote for President in 1816 until the election of 1884, this state had missed the national guess but three times; in 1836 when it voted for William Henry Harrison, in 1848 when Lewis Cass received a majority of the votes, and again in 1876 when Samuel J. Tilden was the choice.

Perhaps this small percentage of error may be reduced still further, if we take into consideration the fact that Harrison was a particular pet of Indiana, and four years later, also of the nation, and one can hardly say that the selection of Tilden in 1876 was far from the national mark. Indiana had the habit of selecting the right man to such a degree that on one occasion, when the selection for state officers went against the national decision, yet the state stayed with the winning party in the matter of selecting the President. The two facts, namely that Indiana usually selected the right man and that it was an "October" state, meant much of importance as to the handling of the state campaign. Neither party could afford to let one stone remain unturned in the effort to carry the state over the line in the right direction.

An element that was sure to play conspicuously into the politics of the Hoosier state for many succeeding years occurred in 1874-1875. This was the period of the so-called

<sup>1</sup> LaFollett, *The History of the Campaign Funds from 1876 to 1892*, pp. 13.  
(Master's thesis in Library of University of Wisconsin.)

"Tidal-wave" elections in many states, when the political color of these several states changed so decidedly that there was immediate evidence of a national change coming. In the election for representatives of the Forty-Fourth congress in this year, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and other northern states of Republican disposition went Democratic with almost the entire South.<sup>2</sup> In this move on the part of Indiana and in the following elections, the state still maintained its record for leadership in the decision for the President, Tilden receiving the popular vote in 1876. The causes for the change of disposition in Indiana were various; the unfortunate affairs in Washington during President Grant's second term, and especially the "Belknap affair" had much to do with it, and the panic of 1873 made some Democratic votes. But probably more important than either of these was the effect of the Resumption Act of 1875 on Indiana's debtor communities. Indiana was always close to the line, and there was easily a sufficient number of borrowing individuals, especially in southern Indiana, to throw the decision against the party responsible for the Resumption act.

In the election of 1876, Indiana was the fighting ground for the two political parties.<sup>3</sup> By 1880 the position had changed but little. The Greenback movement undoubtedly reached its climax when the national convention of that party met in Toledo on Washington's birthday in 1878. At that time it had more just argument and more actual power than it had ever had before and more than it was to have at any time afterward. Indiana was one of the first states to follow up the Toledo convention with a systematic campaign for Greenback organization; the organization was effected in 1878 and, in 1880, the party appeared ready to contend in the national election with the two old line groups. The National-Greenback-Labor party, as the alignment was known during this election, held a convention in Indianapolis on April 28, 1880, at which time a platform was adopted, resembling close-

<sup>2</sup> Kinney, *The Presidential Campaign of 1876*. (University of Wisconsin thesis.)

<sup>3</sup> Carmichael, O. P. *The Election of 1876, With Special Reference to Indiana*. (In *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, Dec., 1913.)

ly the National platform. This document declared that the people were capable of managing their own finances, under government control; that the government was capable of managing its financial interests without the aid of outside banks; that high prices were due to the fact that the moneyed interests were in control. It demanded that all currency should be made legal tender; that the national debt should be paid immediately; that the right of free speech should be guaranteed. In addition, it pronounced Chinese labor unjustifiable; and demanded that the government should secure the laborer in his rights. On this platform, Richard Gregg was nominated for Governor.<sup>4</sup>

The Republican platform, adopted at the convention which met at Indianapolis, June 18, acted about as might have been expected. The national resolutions were endorsed, emigration without investigation was proposed, dishonest promissory notes were denounced, protection of laborers was favored, and the pension item was given the usual attention.<sup>5</sup>

The Democratic platform, formulated at the convention on June 10, began with an elaborately worded congratulation for the success of the party during the preceding four years. Then followed a declaration against class-legislation; one in favor of putting paper money and coin at par; and one against the attempt of Republican leaders to form a strong central power. Pensions were endorsed, economy in public school expenditure was lauded, a sting concerning the methods of the Republican party in the election of 1876 was delivered, and Chinese labor received the same denunciation given it by the Greenbackers. The prosperity of the period was credited to conditions for which the Republican party was not to blame; the continuance of the two-thirds rule was favored, and Hendricks was approved for the presidential nominee of the national party.<sup>6</sup>

The campaign opened with these three platforms before the people. The Greenbackers had changed names since the last presidential election, and they felt that they were not

<sup>4</sup> Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia, 1880, pp. 394.

<sup>5</sup> Henry, *State Platforms of the Two Dominant Political Parties in Indiana, 1850-1900*, pp. 62.

<sup>6</sup> Henry, *Ibid.*, pp. 60.

as strong as they had been four years before; the Republicans knew that they were not in any easy way for victory; and the Democrats, having gained two more congressmen in the election of 1878, felt that they had every reason to be encouraged.

As the campaign proceeded, three issues stood out as the real questions of the election. The first was the question of the constitutional vote in Indiana. The Indiana constitution of 1852 provided that an amendment, in order to become part of the constitution of the state, should pass the vote of two successive General Assemblies and then be submitted to the popular vote of the state. According to this provision, seven amendments passed the General Assembly in 1877 and again in 1879, and they were presented forthwith to the people of the state in April, 1879.<sup>7</sup> The popular vote seemed to be favoring the amendments when two flaws appeared to disturb matters and to react against the party which had perpetrated the errors. One man in the legislature had voted for one of the amendments according to a provision in the first of the series of amendments, whereas he should have voted according to the previous ruling, and, moreover, there was found to be no provision for the accurate counting of the number who voted. The whole matter was laid before the state supreme court, and this body decided that the flaws invalidated the new amendment.<sup>8</sup>

The second issue was the discussion of the free trade plan of the Democrats near the end of the canvass. Of course this was stock material but, nevertheless, it is estimated that enough employees were stirred up against the Democrats to lose them at least a thousand votes.<sup>9</sup> The third and most important item in the campaign was not an issue at all; it consisted of a most undignified abuse of individuals and general "mud-slinging." The real policies of the parties were not discussed seriously at all, and the Republicans had as little as possible to say about finance. An Indiana correspondent of the *New York Nation* reported the following: "One mem-

<sup>7</sup> *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia*, 1879, pp. 496.

<sup>8</sup> *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia*, 1880, pp. 393.

<sup>9</sup> Novels, Russel Wason, *Six Presidential Elections in Indiana*, pp. 12. (University of Wisconsin Thesis.)

ber of the state committee [Republican] remarked in my hearing, that ‘the less we say about finances in this country the better we are off’ ”.<sup>10</sup> The real problem of the campaign did not hang upon anything more statesmanlike than “carry the state.”

The canvass started out with more spirit than the one of 1878 had known, both parties fully cognizant of the importance of victory in this “doubtful” state. The importance which the Democrats for example, attached to winning the state is illustrated by the fact that the Democratic central committee chairman, Barnum, moved his headquarters to Indianapolis during the last week of the campaign. He was there personally to supervise the canvass, and the Republicans claimed that he brought interesting money with him.<sup>11</sup>

The Republicans brought their strongest speakers into the state; James G. Blaine, Lyman Trumbull and Roscoe Conkling were to be heard in every town of any size. Carl Schurz did some of the best work for his party in Indiana at this time; his speech in Indianapolis, July 20, was a masterful appeal to reason, and he showed his good sense by trying to make the audience see the danger of a change, rather than by tearing his hair madly over sentimentalities, as many of the other speakers did.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the next best thing from the standpoint of orderly discussion of important questions was a series of joint debates between the two candidates of the leading parties for governor. These debates are said to have been carried on with “reasonable decorum”.<sup>13</sup>

With the exception of the foregoing illustrations, the campaign speeches consisted of clap-trap and generally senseless appeals to emotion. Finally the whole thing degenerated into petty personalities. A fair illustration of the typical campaign speech is presented by Albert G. Porter, nominee for Governor on the Republican ticket, who dwelt usually on the three points, the humble origin of Garfield, the glorious record of the Republican party, and the plans of the “Solid South”

<sup>10</sup> New York *Nation*, correspondence, Oct. 21, 1880.

<sup>11</sup> Nowels, *Ibid.*, pp. 12.

<sup>12</sup> New York *Nation*, July 22, 1880.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1880.

to come into power. It would seem that the Republicans might well have discussed the question of silver coinage and the retirement of the Greenbacks, but these seem to have been studiously avoided. Anything that would get the popular ear was fit for stumping purposes, and nothing else was considered.<sup>14</sup> The correspondent of the *New York Nation* observed that he had heard the Civil Service question mentioned in two instances and the retirement of the Greenbacks not at all.<sup>15</sup> The mud-slinging was blamed more on the Democrats than the Republicans, for it all seems to have started with the Democratic nominee for governor, Franklin Landers, calling his opponent, Porter, a drunkard.<sup>16</sup> The *New York World*, probably biased, remarked at the end of the campaign that the Republican ideas of politics and finance were reflected well in the campaign:

They [the Republicans] are now audible all over the city through penny whistles, tin trumpets, and fire-crackers. The streets are full of half-grown boys making noises, and the bar-rooms of drunken members of the party [talking] of great moral ideas.<sup>17</sup>

Probably the same thing might well have been said concerning the Democratic party. Enthusiasm ran high in both parties; said the *New York Nation* on the eve of the election:

In Indiana both parties are very enthusiastic, and will both carry the State, the Democrats by 15,000, and the Republicans by 8,000 majority.<sup>18</sup>

One of the interesting phases of the campaign was its cost. More than once has Indiana been assisted by both parties from the outside in the all-important matter of financing a canvass, and more than once have suggestive remarks been passed concerning wrong uses of funds by members of both parties. The Republicans were charged in the case of this election with bringing at least \$300,000 into the state from the east.<sup>19</sup> Whatever the amount used, it is sure that twenty

<sup>14</sup> *New York Nation*, Oct. 21, 1880, in "Correspondence on the 'Evolution of the Indiana Campaign'".

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1880.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1880.

<sup>17</sup> *New York World*, Oct. 14, 1880.

<sup>18</sup> *New York Nation*, Sept. 30, 1880.

<sup>19</sup> Nowels, *Ibid.*, pp. 18.

prominent business men of Philadelphia met September 9 to consider ways of getting money for the Indiana campaign, and it is also sure that five days later they issued a letter to Pennsylvania manufacturers, showing the immediate need for aid in the Indiana Republican organization. The Wall Street capitalists raised a special fund; the campaign committee of Maine granted \$25,000 for use in Indiana; Boston, it seems, sent \$175,000, and a large sum was collected in New York city.<sup>20</sup> Individuals aided materially; one man is said to have contributed \$50,000. A student of the subject of campaign finance states that, "there was a fixed price for almost every elective office."<sup>21</sup> In addition to these considerable amounts raised on the outside, much also came from within; it is estimated that Oliver P. Morton collected \$300,000 within twenty-four hours in Indiana.<sup>22</sup> The facts about the amount of money collected and used by the Democrats are more obscure, but it is a safe guess that, whatever amount they had, it totalled much less than the amount raised by the Republicans, for they had fewer sources from which money could come. In all, the two parties could hardly have spent less than a million dollars on the campaign.<sup>23</sup>

Corruption in the use of party money is a very hard thing to prove in any instance, and I certainly do not have the material to prove that there was any corruption in Indiana in the campaign of 1880. However, the claim was made by each party that the other used corrupt practice, both as regards the use of funds and also by making use of "repeaters." Many of the claims are unsubstantiated, and all of the unproved statements of either concerning the other must be taken "with a grain of salt." Nevertheless, it will not be out of the way to repeat the most trustworthy claims.

The first claim by both parties was that the other grossly misused money in the election. The Republicans had more charged against them on this score than their rivals, probably because of an incident which stood out with great prominence. This incident is centered in the fact that Stephen W.

<sup>20</sup> LaFollett, *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25 and *New York World*, Oct. 6, 1880.

<sup>21</sup> LaFollett, *Ibid.*, pp. 23.

<sup>22</sup> *World's Work*, Vol. 1, pp. 78.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77.

Dorsey, secretary of the Republican National committee, was the most active worker for the Republicans in Indiana. Nothing much was said about the abuse of funds while the campaign was actually in progress, but, on February 11, 1881, at Delmonico's in New York, some interesting remarks were made. The occasion was a dinner in honor of the successful work which Dorsey had done in the campaign. That it was no small affair may be gathered from a list of the most prominent Republican names represented there; the list includes among others the following: John Jacob Astor, J. Pierpont Morgan, John A. Stewart, Levi P. Morton, Thurlow Weed, Jesse Seligman, Frank Work, Robert Lenox Kennedy, F. S. Winston, Henry B. Hyde, D. O. Mills, B. Cannon, William S. Dinsmore and M. W. Cooper.<sup>24</sup> Each speech of the evening was burdened with the single topic: the success of Dorsey in the Hoosier state. One of the most striking remarks of the evening came from Whitelaw Reed when he humorously suggested: \* \* \*

that there was in fact a regular school for Republican canvassers instituted in Indianapolis, of which Mr. Dorsey was the president and chief professor.<sup>25</sup>

The speeches of the others followed the same general laudatory trend from one to another until Mr. Arthur's turn came. The results of his speech were far reaching enough to be worthy of repetition, in part. Speaking in praise of the man who "carried Indiana," he proceeded with this remark:

Indiana was really, I suppose, a Democratic state. It has been put down on the books always as a state that might be carried by close and perfect organization and a great deal of\_\_\_\_\_. I see the reporters are present, therefore I will simply say that everybody showed a great deal of interest in the occasion and distributed tracts and political documents all through the state.<sup>26</sup>

This speech evoked a round of laughter from the banqueters, and that ended it for the evening. When the report got to the public next day, the word "soft soap" was almost

<sup>24</sup> *New York Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1881.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *New York Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1881.

immediately supplied to fill in Mr. Arthur's omission. The public more readily accepted the interpolation because of Mr. Dorsey's concluding remark, in which he

rejoiced at the evidence of awakening interest in the sons of the rich men in the service of their country.<sup>27</sup>

There was nothing in the happenings at the banquet for which Mr. Dorsey could be convicted of wrongfully using the campaign funds; as far as the speeches went, they were probably only intended to add levity to the evening's proceedings. However, much truth was suggested in the speeches. The people on the outside, and more particularly the defeated party, took up the "Dorsey episode" and used it with all their ability to injure Dorsey's party and his personal reputation. The New York *Nation* claimed that

Dorsey was one of the most disreputable of the Arkansas carpet-baggers of the reconstruction period<sup>28</sup>;

moreover, they stated that Dorsey was directly connected with the "Star-route" frauds of Grant's second term, saying \* \* \* that it appears as if what may be called Dorsey's "military family" pocketed a cool \$445,826 between them.<sup>29</sup> W. P. Fishback, a prominent lawyer of Indianapolis and a former partner with General Harrison, wrote an open letter to Stanton J. Peele, Republican congressman from Indiana, in 1883, saying:

Men like Dorsey will come to Indianapolis again, as they came in 1880, and distribute four hundred thousand dollars in the Dennison House parlors, to be used in buying votes, hiring repeaters, bribing election officials to stuff ballot-boxes and falsify election returns<sup>30</sup>

The fact that this open letter was never challenged caused many to believe that its statements were literally true. Mr. Dorsey admitted that \$400,000 was spent in Indiana, but not by him, merely under his direction.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the facts in

<sup>27</sup> Chicago *Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1881.

<sup>28</sup> New York *Nation*, Feb. 17, 1881.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, April 28, 1881.

<sup>30</sup> LaFollett, *Ibid.*, pp. 26.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26.

the case were, the charges told heavily on the party in the next election.

Misuse of party funds was but one of the charges levied by each party on the other's canvass plans. The New York *Herald* came out with a statement, October 11, headed, "Influx of convicts, murderers, sneak-thieves, burglars, and bronco men" and \* \* \* "money for fraud, none for comfort is charged on both sides."<sup>32</sup> This far away from the time of the event the heading seems laughable, but it at least represents the belief of both parties to some extent. A circumstance which made it possible for this type of accusation to circulate was the fact that the state was operating under the election law of 1859, which provided that the trustee of each township should be the inspector of elections. The law further stipulated that the trustee was to appoint two voters, with the consent of the voters present before the opening of the polls; these two with the trustee to constitute an election board.<sup>33</sup> The provisions of this law made it possible, therefore, for one party or the other to control the election board.

In the matter of "repeaters" the claims of each of the parties concerning the activity of the other were much better founded than were the claims as to financial dishonesty. The statement became notoriously common that the vote of a Hoosier was "worth a crisp two-dollar bill."<sup>34</sup> The most important claim of the Democrats was that the Republicans were "colonizing" Indiana with men from all parts of the country, and especially with negroes from Kentucky.<sup>35</sup> Exactly the same charge was brought by the Republicans against the Democrats, concerning the bringing of men from the east. Early in October, "The Boys in Blue" met at Indianapolis and this was interpreted by many as being merely a cover for the influx of desperate characters.<sup>36</sup> It is an interesting coincidence that at the same time many clerks in Washington were getting leaves of absence in order to return home to vote; and many of these were thought to be on their way "to attend

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24 (quoted from the New York *Herald*, Oct. 11, 1880.)

<sup>33</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1859, pp. 110-111.

<sup>34</sup> LaFollett, *Ibid.*, pp. 25.

<sup>35</sup> New York *Tribune*, Oct. 7, 1880. "Stories of the importation of negro voters continue to appear in the Democratic organs".

<sup>36</sup> New York *World*, Oct. 6, 1880.

the meeting of the 'Boys in Blue'.<sup>37</sup> On October 8 the New York *Tribune* stated that "The Democrats have brought a gang of Philadelphia 'roughs' here (Indianapolis) under charge of the notorious Alderman 'Bill McMullin'"; detectives were reported to be following.<sup>38</sup> Chairman Barnum of the Democratic Central committee was said to have been in Indiana often \* \* \* "distributing money in the different localities."<sup>39</sup> The Chicago *Tribune* printed the statement on October 10, that each Democratic boss in each school district of the state had been sent one hundred dollars.<sup>40</sup>

The same paper mentioned above is responsible for the statement that there was an organized plan on foot among the Democrats for the capturing of the state. The plan, which is outlined below, was supposed to have been captured from one of the leaders of the party. According to the captured plan, there were eight well planned steps to be taken in each voting district; First, a large number of Democrats would cast their votes; second, having gathered together at a convenient distance, they would start a quarrel; the quarrel well under way, they would produce billies and the little quarrel would have turned into a fight; a state of riot having been achieved, the governor would call the troops to the polls; the troops called would not be state troops but merely a secret Democratic military organization; state arms would be procured at the rendezvous of the Democratic party; the riot would continue until the armed forces had had time to rifle and change the ballots. The whole scheme seems so manufactured that it is hard to understand that people were affected by its publication, and yet it seems evident that it did have some effect on the vote at the polls.<sup>41</sup>

Toward the close of the campaign the two more important parties began exchanging more and more bitter remarks and accusations. In the heat of the bad feeling, October 11, a negro janitor in Indianapolis shot and seriously injured a white Democrat, and this incident was of course immediately

<sup>37</sup> Chicago *Tribune*, Oct. 6, 1880.

<sup>38</sup> New York *Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1880.

<sup>39</sup> LaFollett, *Ibid.*, pp. 27.

<sup>40</sup> Chicago *Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1880.

<sup>41</sup> Chicago *Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1880.

attributed to Republican agitation. That the incident had some effect upon the result of the election seems clear.<sup>42</sup> A new and interesting claim by the Republicans appeared just before the election. They declared that a Mr. Gilbert De La-Matyr, Greenbacker, desirous of retaining his seat in congress, made a bargain with the Democrats whereby the Greenback party was to support the Democratic candidate in the Ninth district in return for the nomination and support of De La-Matyr in his own district by the Democrats.<sup>43</sup> The culmination of all of these charges came in the form of a mass-meeting held in Indianapolis in nonpartisan fashion, "to resist the encroachments of a corrupt Democracy and to adopt measures for the extermination of Democratic repeaters and slugs and thieves."<sup>44</sup>

When the day of election came, none of the disorder which had been predicted occurred. The vote was the heaviest that had ever been polled up to that time in the state and that was probably due to the hard work of managers on both sides. Of course, this neither proves nor disproves the charge of corruption. Out of 498,437 eligible citizens, 470,738 voted; that number is not incompatible with legitimate methods.<sup>45</sup>

In both the October and the November elections the Republicans were successful. The vote for the two elections was as follows:<sup>46</sup>

October election			November election		
Rep.	Dem.	Gbk.	Rep.	Dem.	Gbk.
Porter	Landers	Gregg	Garfield	Hancock	Weaver
231,405	224,452	14,881	232,164	225,522	12,986
49.15%	47.68%	3.16%	49.32%	47.91%	2.77%
Total vote			Total vote		
470,738			470,672		

The most evident fact observable upon a casual view of the returns is that the Greenback vote did not come up as

<sup>42</sup> New York *World*, Oct. 11, 1880, and New York *Nation*, Oct. 21, 1880. "The campaign in Indiana has given another demonstration of the total lack of principle of the Republican machine, and of the hopelessness of ever securing through its agency an honest discussion before the people of things necessary in good government in this country".

<sup>43</sup> New York *Nation*, Sept. 29, 1880.

<sup>44</sup> Nowles, *Ibid.*, from Chicago *Times*, Oct. 8, 1880.

<sup>45</sup> Nowles, *Ibid.*, pp. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Tribune *Almanac*, 1881.

high as the expectations of its leaders, and consequently the other two parties gained. The big day of the Greenbackers was a thing of the past and the conservative members drifted back into the old parties. Many of these conservatives were determined to do something to change the unsatisfactory labor conditions of the country, and they had come to the conclusion that the new party had little chance of quick success along this line.<sup>47</sup> Also, many leaders in the country went into the Democratic ranks to indicate their disapproval of Republican management in general. Whatever the reasons, it is evident from the returns that the Greenback party had nothing like the success for which they had hoped; and it is patent that many who voted in October for the new party changed their votes in November, and both of the old parties gained by this fact.

In neither the local nor the national election was the Republican victory a landslide. The correspondent of the *New York Nation* gives the following estimate as to how the Republicans gained the ten thousand votes between the election of 1876 and that of 1880. Although not based on exhaustive examination, yet it serves to suggest a fair estimate of the additional votes. Here is the estimate: 1, Independent votes; 2, bulk of the business men gained in the last few weeks of the campaign; 3, manufacturers; 4, votes due to the unpopularity of Landers; 5, votes due to the personal unpopularity of English; 6, votes of Democrats dissatisfied with the overthrow of the constitutional amendments.<sup>48</sup> Many of these above-mentioned factions will be recognized as regular Republican voters, but it must be remembered that many of these had been disaffected by labor and financial conditions in the early seventies, as well as by the political scandals for which the Republicans were blamed.

It would seem evident that the campaign in Indiana in 1880 was of no small consequence in deciding the national election of that year, and the campaign managers were not wrong in their judgment that Indiana must be carried if the national election was to go the right way. Although it is practically

<sup>47</sup> Haynes, Fred E., *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War*, pp. 141 and 144. There was "a landslide, a tidal wave, an earthslip, or whatever you would like to call it".

<sup>48</sup> *New York Nation*, Oct. 21, 1880.

impossible to determine with exactitude just how much fraud was practiced on each side, the advertisement which such action got served to add fuel to the bitterness of the campaign. Likewise it is impossible to determine just how much injury was done to the Democratic party in Indiana by the mud slinging, of which they certainly got the most. Possibly there were sufficient items, aside from the charges of fraud, to have put the election over in favor of the Republicans. However it is hard not to feel, after seeing the material, that slander had its part in determining Indiana's vote.

In 1880 Indiana was still a "doubtful" state, for it moved back into the Republican column. Indiana has not yet lost her importance in deciding national contests, but 1880 was the last time Indiana was to be so conspicuous because of its early election.

## The Thomas Family

By LUKE W. THOMAS.

Philip Thomas came from Wales<sup>1</sup> and settled in Maryland in about 1650. Records do not show how many children he had, but there were four boys, one of whom was named Tristram. Tristram Thomas had a son named Stephen, who went to what is now South Carolina in about 1730 and settled on the Pedee river near Cheraw. He had a numerous family some of whom went to Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky. Among Stephen's children were Tristram, William and John. Tristram was a general in the Revolutionary war. William married the only daughter of Colonel Hicks. He became immensely rich in lands—some nineteen miles in extent along the Pedee river—and in slaves—nearly one thousand. The family is now extinct.

John Thomas married Mollie Clark, whose genealogy is given herein. His son Francis was the first to cross the Ohio river and come north. This he did in 1811. His father and most of the family came a year later and all settled near what is now Fountain City, Indiana. Later some of John's children, John, Elijah and his daughters Christiana and Sarah, moved to Grant county. Afterward Elijah moved to Cass county, Michigan.

<sup>1</sup> The name Thomas came originally from the Hebrew language and signifies a twin. In its earliest use the name was confined to male twins, the feminine form Thomasine, having been applied to girls. In the lapse of time, however, the origin and significance of the name being overlooked, it gradually came to be applied to others, and thus finally came into general use. Adopted by the Greeks and Latins, the name became widely distributed. It was taken into Great Britain at the time of the introduction of Christianity, about the seventh century. With some slight variations in spelling, the name is now in all modern European languages. Thomas is the English, French and German form of the name; the French also have Thomassin; Germans, Thomae. The Italian is Tomaso, Thomasis, Tommaseo, Tomasini and Tomitano; the Portuguese, Thoma, Thomaz and Thome; in Latin, the name becomes Thomasins.

The derivations or modifications of the name are many, as Thomason, Thomson, Thompson, Tomson, Thomes, Thompkins, Tompkins, Tomklns, Tomkinson, Tomlin, Tomlins and Tomlinson. According to Welsh traditions, the history of the family commences with Urien Rheged, a prince of North Britain, in the sixth century, who was expelled from his principality by the Saxons, and took refuge in Wales. The name of the grandfather of this prince, Mierchlon

Gul, appears on an ancient pillar near Langollen. The direct line of the descent, beginning with Urian Rheged, includes Sir Elider Dhu, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. Among the early ancestors were Sir Rhys ap Thomas, born in 1451, who held a place of honor in the household of the Duke of Burgundy. Through a rich wife he acquired vast estates, and became one of the most opulent men of his time. It is said that he had 1,900 tenants, and upon short notice could bring into the field 5,000 armed men. He enlarged Carew Castle, which was his favorite residence; he was the proprietor of the lordship of more than a dozen estates.

A poet of the day wrote:

"Y Brenin bia'r Yuys  
Onot sy o ran i Syr Rhys."

Translated: "The king owns the island, except what pertains to Sir Rhys."

Tradition has it that it was he who slew Richard III on the field of Bosworth in a hand-to-hand conflict. However that may be, he was knighted upon the field, and many honors were conferred upon him by Henry VII, of whose council he was a member, besides being a commissioner of the King's mines. Sir Rhys ap Thomas had an extant pedigree—the manuscript copy is now in the possession of a member of the Thomas family—going back to Adam; but the historical part of it began with Urian Rheged. This Urian, it may be mentioned, appears in the Arthurian romances as Sir Uriance.

Another Sir Rhys Thomas, of a later date, was so noted for his bravery that after his death one of the Welsh bards lamented that a "drum had not been covered with his skin, the sound of which alone would always have insured victory to the British." He was created a Knight of the Order of Bath when it was revived by Henry VII, on the marriage of his son, Prince Arthur, to Katharine of Aragon. At the funeral of Prince Arthur he bore the Prince's banner before his bier.

The name of Thomas appears very largely in the history of this country. Nathaniel Thomas was the first of whom there is any record. He came to Virginia in the ship "Temperance" in 1621. Robert and William came to the same state in the ship "America", fourteen years later, and another William Thomas arrived in the same year. Philip Thomas, the progenitor of the southern branch of the family, came from Wales about the middle of the seventeenth century, and settled in Maryland. He was a Friend and a man of much influence in the colonies.

The first Thomas of whom there is any record in New England, was named William. He came to this country in 1630, and settled at Plymouth. Previous to 1699 twenty-eight members of the Thomas family came to this country. One William came in the "Mary Ann," another of the same name was chosen assistant to Governor Bradford in 1642. Evan Thomas came to Boston in 1635 as a master of the ship "William and Francis." Among members of the family who took part in early wars were Nathaniel Thomas, who served as a captain in King Philip's war, and John Thomas, who served as lieutenant, captain and colonel in the French war. At the battle of Bunker Hill he had a command as brigadier general; he was afterwards sent to take charge of military affairs in Canada as major-general.

Philemon Thomas and Thomas Thomas served in the Revolution, one as a major-general of militia, the other in command of a regiment. Isaiah Thomas, L. L. D., of colonial times, was patriot, printer, author, publisher and philanthropist. He was a man of decided opinions, which he always expressed with promptness, and to the point. His granddaughter wrote to ask him if she might learn French. "No", was the reply, "one tongue is enough for a woman."

A cruel fate was that of William Thomas, another early settler, who in 1772 essayed to embark for America from the city of Bristol. He had large possessions, which he converted into cash. This, together with the clothing for himself and family, he put on board the vessel. Before the day appointed

The Thomas family have a good reputation for honesty, frugality and generosity. Some of the older ones were natural mechanics, wheelwrights, millwrights, silversmiths, tinners, blacksmiths, etc., and all were interested in farming.

From the ranks of the Welsh Thomas people there have been and are now many who are distinguished for their ability in the Gospel ministry, politics, education and invention.

Francis, son of John and Molly (Clark) Thomas, of South Carolina, was born February 19, 1781. His wife, Lydia Woodward, was born March 11, 1786.

He was a pioneer of Wayne county, Indiana, and entered land north of Richmond, Indiana, in 1811. He met the hardships and privation of the wild country; among others that

for its sailing, Thomas and his family found to their consternation that the vessel had set sail, but was not yet out of sight. Pursuit was made in a small craft, and signals hoisted, but to no purpose. The vessel was lost sight of and the family left destitute. They, however, obtained credit and came to this country, landing in Philadelphia where they had the "mortification"—as it is set down in the records—of seeing some of their goods in possession, and some of their wearing apparel on the backs of those who had purchased them from the dishonest master of the vessel. They were not able to recover anything.

Fortune, however, favored William Thomas in the country of his adoption, and he became a leader among the people. He gave each of his five sons and two daughters a farm and a stone house, upon the occasion of their marriages. He also erected a stone meeting house at his own expense. Although the congregation probably assisted him, Mr. Thomas himself worked in finishing the interior of the building. He made the pulpit out of a hollow gum tree, which was laid on a platform. At this time "Elder Thomas," as he was called, for he was often engaged in preaching, was nearly sixty years of age. He always carried his gun and sword to meeting, depositing them at the foot of the pulpit, it being the period of the French and Indian wars.

Like Jacob of old, William Thomas had the gift of foretelling his children's fortune. Of his sons, he said all but one would prove Christian men, one would become a preacher, and one would go astray and then come to his end by violence—all of which prediction the future confirmed years after their father's death.

No family in the world can claim more distinguished members than that of Thomas.

There was Thomas, called Didymus or the Twin, one of the Apostles of Christ; Thomas Aquinas, who has been canonized by the church, which is practically ruled by his theology; Thomas A. Becket; Thomas A. Kempis; Thomasinus, Secretary of Philip of Spain; Thomas of Ercldoure, the Rhymers, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and was the earliest poet of Scotland; Thomasin of Zirkalaria, in Tyrol, who lived in the thirteenth century and wrote "Der Walsche Gast," the first great German didactic poem; Elizabeth Thomas, a poetess, who had the honor of being placed conspicuously in Pope's satirical poem, the "Dunciad," because she had incurred his displeasure.

The coat of arms of the family is argent, a chevron, sable between three ravens; crest, a raven with outspread wings. Different members of the family have different crests, lambs and lions being favorite devices.

of going on horseback 30 miles to get breadstuff. A few times with others he fled to Richmond to the blockhouse during Indian troubles. Although he feared the attacks of the Indians, he held his peace principles too dear not to be preserved at any hazard, even of life, itself. He took the "flint lock" off his gun and hid the gun some distance from the house lest in case of an attack he might be tempted to harm the Indians. He never was molested.

Farming was his chosen occupation, but being naturally ingenious he turned his hand as occasion demanded to carpenter, shoemaker, cooper, blacksmith, cabinet maker and other work.

Early in life he made profession of religion and was, during his life, a leading member of the Friends church. His well-known honesty and love of peace gave him very great influence as peacemaker in the church and community. He was one of three men who were the projectors of the great National road from east to west across the country to the Mississippi river.

Francis Thomas came from North Carolina in the year 1811, bringing his personal property that he could haul in a wagon drawn by a team of oxen; he walked practically all of the way and camped by the roadside. His wagon was a long box bed with the ends of the floor higher at each end than at the middle and had bows along the entire length covered with canvas, left open in the front with a draw string to close the rear. He was the first of his branch of the Thomas family to cross the Ohio river. His father and most of his family came the next year. He left North Carolina to get away from the influence of slavery; quite a bit of the way was wilderness, with wild animals abounding.

John, son of Francis and Lydia (Woodard) Thomas, was born February 24, 1820.

He grew to manhood on his father's farm, working in summer and attending school in winter until he was 21, after which he worked for his father one year at \$12 per month.

In September, 1842, he came to Sandcreek township, Bartholomew county, and was united in marriage to Miss Smithey Newsom, taking his bride to the farm where he resided until

his death. The family traits, honesty, frugality, etc., were carried out in his life.

He was an earnest advocate of Friends Boarding school, now Earlham college. Before one stone was laid, by mouth and purse he pushed the worthy cause. He not only talked abolition, but his home became a station of the famous "underground railroad," and many black people have been passed on to freedom by his willing help.

Of rather small stature, but strong muscular power, as evidenced by the way he held one end of the hand spike in the yearly spring log rolling in clearing his own and neighboring farms.

In politics, a Whig, then a Republican, not as a politician, but using his vote, which, with the Thomas family, was generally on the right side.

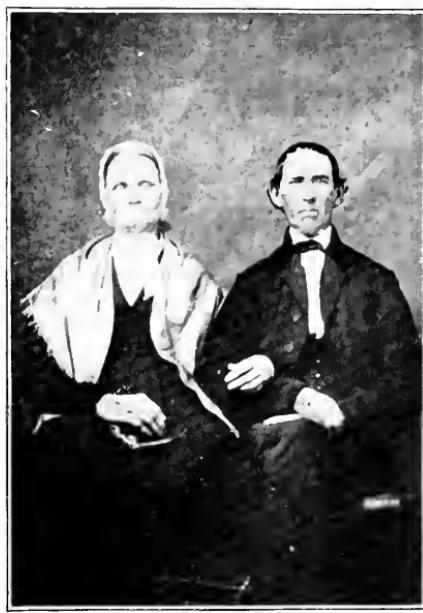
Perhaps his leading passion centered in the church and its activities as observed and taught by the Friends. And never was outward engagement so pressing as to detract from the regular church work. Placed by common consent at the head of his home congregation, he and his wife, coupled with an eldership of over half a century, served faithfully and well.

John Thomas came to Bartholomew county in 1842; he and his young wife drove to their new home with their small belongings in a wagon, the wife driving the team while he followed driving the live stock, consisting of a milch cow, a yearling heifer and a sow with seven pigs. The country was mostly covered with timber through which the trail passed. When they stopped for the night they slept in the wagon which was covered with canvas, over bows the length of the wagon box, the live stock was tired enough to eat and lie down and sleep till time to start the following morning.

Francis W. Thomas very early in life heard the Divine call, "Go ye out into the world and preach My gospel."

He was naturally gifted in speech and possessed remarkable oratorical powers. He was surrounded in youth by the influences of a godly home, and not only in the home but in the church, as well, his parents, like the patriarchs of old, led the people to know and worship the God of their fathers.

When grace controlled and developed these natural equipments of his, we have before us a human instrumentality cap-



JOHN AND SMITHEY THOMAS



able of doing much. Such, in a great measure, was Francis W. Thomas.

As a young minister, in the large auditorium of the old Indiana yearly Meeting House at Richmond, with his winsome personality and eloquent appeals, his power was soon felt, and his far reaching voice drew about him great crowds of people. During the deliberations of the yearly meeting when differences of opinion were sometimes sharply drawn, he perceiving a measure of truth on both sides of the subject, was able to suggest such compromises as were generally adopted by the meeting.

True to his convictions of the Divine Call, he went from place to place, through the length and breadth of his native state, and other states, telling the good news, at his own expense, for more than sixty years.

The church of his choice failed to recognize that they that sow spiritual things had a right to reap their carnal things, and that the workman was worthy of his hire. He accepted the situation without grumbling, and with hard knocks when at home, held things together through a reasonably long life.

Truly his epitaph might be, "I was with you as one that served."

With the death of John Thomas who died near Azalia, Indiana, January 15, 1913, there passed away one of the most active and interesting personages who did service on the famous and historical "Underground Railroad." In connection with his death it is timely to relate some of the most interesting features of the "road", showing how the system operated in Indiana and in this section. The incidents given below are told by Luke and Clark Thomas, sons of the deceased.

When the escaping slaves came to the Thomas farm they would be hidden in the fields during the day and their meals furnished them. They traveled mostly in the fall when the weather was warm and sometimes they would live on roasting ears which they would cook themselves. At night, when the slaves were ready to continue their flight, father would direct them straight northward and they would follow the road which goes straight north from Azalia through East Columbus until they came to the Cambridge branch of the old J. M. & I. rail-

road. Then they were told to follow the track until they came to Carthage, where the next station of the "Underground" was located. This distance would make it necessary for the slaves to provide for themselves during two nights in transit.

Father had a rigid rule that no fleeing negro would be permitted to tell his name, or whence he came, or how his master had treated him before his escape. The purpose of this rule was that his own conscience might be clear so that should a slave-owner arrive and inquire about the escaped slave, he could truthfully say he did not know.

Sometimes there would be one negro alone and again they would come to his farm in parties. Just before the War they began to arrive in bunches and sometimes as many as a dozen would be at his house at once.

Luke remembers that one morning when he was a boy, he got up in the morning as usual and when he came down stairs to put on his boots he discovered that the whole room was full of negroes, the escaping crowd being made up of men, women and children. It was on a New Year's morning and the party had arrived in the night from another station which was located below Vernon. In the crowd was one young mother who had given birth to a babe three days before at the other station below Vernon. The mother asked our mother to keep her child, but of course, mother could not do that. The party proceeded on north that night, although the snow lay deep upon the ground.

Many of the slaves were furious and were resolved not to be taken back to their masters under any consideration. Two strong negro men arrived one night and were armed. One had a big hickory hoop pole and the other had a corn knife, ground sharp. When asked what the weapons were for they replied: "Massa, we alls not gwine back."

At one time a negro came who had been shot in the back of the neck. He wore a heavy hickory shirt; it was saturated with blood which had dried and become stiff and it continually sawed on his wound like a rope. Father gave him a soft shirt of his own and sent him on to the north. He then took the bloody shirt and crammed it into a hollow tree in the woods. Soon afterwards, Luke Thomas was hunting rab-

bits in the woods and his dog treed a rabbit in the same hollow tree and dug out the bloody shirt. He carried it to the house and revealed what he thought was a great mystery. Of course his father and mother appeared as badly puzzled as himself. But later, as he grew older, he understood.

Another incident occurred at a time when father and mother were away from home attending a quarterly meeting at Salem, Indiana, and Uncle James Newsom, who was mother's brother, and Luke Thomas, were left in charge of the home. The trains on this "Underground Railroad" were not run according to regular schedule, but were piloted by a colored man who lived near Seymour, and who would, when a fleeing negro came his way, leave his home with the negro after night and make the trip as far as our home leaving his charge there and returning home before daybreak; thus no one would know he had been away from home during the night. On this particular occasion while father and mother were away from home, late one night, Uncle James heard a call from outside and promptly answered it, but the response not being familiar to the pilot, a subdued conversation was heard in the dark. After a while the call was repeated in a softer tone and again Uncle James answered it, asking what was wanted, but the response from outside was, "I don't know your voice, sah." Uncle James assured them that all was well and after a few minutes' talk they were convinced that friends had charge of the house in father's absence, and the negro was taken in and cared for as usual and next night, after full instructions had been given, he was started on northward. On the following morning, while Uncle James was attending to watering the stock in the barnyard he saw a clod of dirt strike the ground near him. He could see no one. Suddenly another clod struck the earth. Still no one. Then suddenly down a corn row in the adjoining field he was a negro. "Massa," he called, "I got lost gwine up north." It was a negro who had come back, after starting north the night before. He directed him again and he left the second time. Now it happened that Luke, at this time, had a very sore foot due to an injury received playing football. Two weeks afterward father heard from his sister, who lived in

Hamilton county and she wanted to know how Luke's foot was. He knew then that the negro had arrived here.

One negro came to father's home while the corn in the fields was ready for roasting, and as usual he hid in the corn. It was arranged that he would be at a certain stump when the bell rang for dinner, to get a noon lunch. Now father was the owner of a hound dog that followed to the field. While on the way the dog engaged in a race with a hare, making the usual hound music. The negro heard him and became alarmed, thinking of blood hounds. Then there was a negro on the run from one side of the field to the other till finally when he saw father was at the stump he ventured up, scared as near white as a full blooded negro could be; also out of breath.

At another time when one was harbored at Uncle John Hall's, a neighbor, there came a party of slave hunters to his house and proposed to enter and search the premises. Uncle John met them at the door and gave them to understand that to search his premises they must be provided with a proper warrant. Then then retired to Azalia to an officer to comply with the terms.

After they left Uncle John sent the negro through the woods, a quarter of a mile to father's; while the search was in progress at Uncle John's father sent the negro to the river bottoms where the weeds and undergrowth were thick, and gave him instructions as to getting out. He started north after dark. (The negro left without lunch.) While father was hiding the negro, Uncle John was going over his premises with the hunters, as he told them, to see that they did not take anything that did not belong to them. After they had examined all the beds, closets, garret and every where a negro could hide in the house and failed to find him, Uncle John told them to look in the clock (wall sweep), then to look in the cook stove, thus ridiculing them and killing time. They then went to the barn and looked, and made a similar examination of the crib and all other buildings, but failed to find their prey.

It is not known whether or not any of these negroes lost their lives on their way to freedom. There was a negro found

in the woods northeast of Columbus that had been shot to death. No one seemed to know who he was; and as there were no negroes living in the neighborhood, it is presumed that he was a runaway slave. An unwritten law allowed no negro to stop in Bartholomew county.

The above incidents serve to show the manner of conducting the work, which was kept up from about the year 1842 near the beginning of the Civil war.

## Colonel Francis Vigo<sup>1</sup>

By A. B. MCKEE, Vincennes

On March 1, 1874, the following copy, "Published by Request," was printed, which no doubt will be of intense interest to hundreds of citizens in this community who are interested in the history of Old Vincennes. Following is a copy of the original writing, headed with a big head line entitled "Western History."

In the *Weekly Times* of October 17th, you published a communication from the pen of D. E. H. with the caption as follows: Published by request, "Western History," Col. Francis Vigo, Correspondence Cleveland *Herald*, Vincennes, Ind., March 1, 1874. Signed at the close, "D. E. H."

To say that the above statements which follow the caption are wholly devoid of truth would not be entirely correct but it certainly is a forcible reminder of the old anecdote of the trader and the Indian. The trader sold the Indian a deer which he had killed, telling the Indian where he would find

<sup>1</sup> The following article was furnished the editor by Frank Foulks of Vincennes. It contains so much information concerning Colonel Vigo that it is printed as given. The letter by Mr. Foulks is explanatory and is given in this note:

VINCENNES, November 14th, 1923.

DEAR ESAREY:—

You may recall me speaking to you about an old newspaper clipping concerning Francis Vigo written by my grandfather, A. B. McKee, which my mother found among her papers a few weeks ago. The article was reprinted in the Vincennes *Commercial* last week. Thinking you might me interested in it, provided you have not already received it from some other source, I am sending you a copy. This letter was published in 1874 in reply to an article in some newspaper to which my grandfather took exceptions. The letter contains many interesting facts, most of which I was already familiar with. The most interesting thing to me is his statement that Vigo was born in Northern Italy, as I think it has been generally understood that he was born in the Island of Sardinia of Spanish parentage. Grandfather may be wrong in this, but I am disposed to place a great deal of credence in anything he might have said concerning Col. Vigo. He lived with him for a number of years and was of mature age, about twenty-eight years, when he died and would have a good recollection of the circumstances. He was in the prime of life when this letter was written, and he had a remarkable memory for such things even after he was past ninety years of age. I would like to read the article he is answering.

With best regards, I am

Fraternally yours,

FRANK D. FOULKES

it, but the trader failed to find the deer at the designated spot and he accused the Indian of falsehood whereupon the Indian inquired, "Did you find the prairie?" "Yes," said the trader. "Did you find the tree?" The trader answered in the affirmative. "Oh, well," replied the Indian, "two truths and one lie is pretty good for an Indian."

The reverse of this would apply better to said correspondent—that is, two false statements to one truth.

To itemize and correct all the false statements therein would require more time and space than I feel disposed to give it.

Colonel Francis Vigo was born in the northern part of Italy; the exact year of his birth he did not know. Owing to family troubles he left his parents when a boy and passed over into Spain, where for some time he was engaged in packing goods across the mountains on the backs of mules (a muleteer), during which time he formed the acquaintance of the gentleman who was appointed governor of the Spanish possessions in North America, with whom he came to this country, not as a private secretary nor in any way connected with the Spanish army, but as a partner of the governor, for purposes of trade, the governor being a secret partner, owing, doubtless, to his official position.

At the time of Clarks campaign, Col. Vigo's headquarters were in St. Louis, entertaining—in common with his countrymen—a warm sympathy for the American cause as opposed to Great Britain. While Clark was at Kaskaskia, he (Vigo) with others visited the camp of Clark. Clark at the time was absent. With his peculiar trait in noticing things, he saw that something was wrong but knew not what it was. Taking the officer in command at the time to one side he said to him: "What is the matter? Things do not look right somehow." The officer replied that "they were in trouble; their expedition was about to fail for want of supplies; they were out of everything and could get no credit with the people." Col. Vigo said to him: "Buy what you want; give orders on me and I will pay for them."

On Clark's return to camp he was informed of Colonel Vigo's proposition. He was cheered, his hopes revived, and

in a short time—Col. Vigo's proposition having been accepted—a satisfactory (not a fraudulent) agreement was entered into between General Clark and Colonel Francis Vigo, and the agreement was faithfully carried out by the contracting parties so far as it was in their power to do so, and no fraud was intended or practiced as D. E. H. has stated. General Clark would have suffered his right arm to be loosed from its socket before he would have been a party to a fraud on Colonel Vigo, his bosom friend. Under the agreement Colonel Vigo paid out on Clark's order about \$16,000, for which Colonel Vigo received duplicated bills of exchange drawn on Oliver Pollock, agent of the state of Virginia, at New Orleans, where Clark fully expected Colonel Vigo would get his pay.

But in that they were both disappointed, as there was no money in the agent's hand to pay bills presented. One of the bills for \$500 Colonel Vigo sold for less than one-fourth its face; another for \$50, in a passion he destroyed and in the end the balances were all lost. I have a faint recollection of having seen some of them about fifty years ago. Only one of them could be traced up, and that was the one on which the present claim is based, now pending in the Court of Claims. Colonel Vigo's example in extending credit to General Clark was soon followed by other traders. General Clark having his wants all supplied as to provisions, etc., commenced planning for an advance upon Vincennes, but before proceeding he wanted to learn something as to the disposition of the inhabitants, the situation and condition of the fort and the strength of the garrison. For the purpose of obtaining the information wanted, Colonel Vigo came to Vincennes. He reached the west bank of the Wabash at the ford a short distance below town, about sunset, but not wishing to enter the village until it became darker, he alighted from his horse, hitched him, and was seated on the bank viewing the river, which he expected soon to ford, when two men, unobserved by him, approached and laying their hands on his shoulder said, "You are a prisoner," when, springing to his feet, he replied, "I am your prisoner but hands off—don't touch me!"

He was taken across the river in a canoe and while crossing he took from his pocket a letter (which was the secret of

his refusing to be handled by the soldiers and which would have hanged him had it fallen into Governor Hamilton's hands), which, biting off in pieces, he chewed up and spit the pulp into the river and by the time he reached the eastern shore his letter was all gone and he breathed free again. He was held a prisoner for three weeks, having the full liberty of the fort and village. As to the two Frenchmen being with him, as stated by D. E. H., it is all a mistake. Two British soldiers were all the escort he had in entering the fort. At the end of three weeks, having obtained all the information he desired, he said to Governor Hamilton: "Why do you keep me here? I am not an American but am a Spanish subject and my business requires me at home." The Governor replied: "You may go upon condition that you speak to no one on your way home of the conditions of things here." Colonel Vigo gave the promise (and, as he said, kept it to the letter), mounted his horse and took the trail direct for St. Louis. He reached home on the evening of the third day, I think, and rested over night and in the morning, having washed, shaved and eaten his breakfast, he remounted his horse (not a canoe), rode down to Kaskaskia and gave General Clark all the information he had obtained and there his connection with Clark closes.

As to his joining the army, "marching with the Spartan band, wading streams, feeling the pangs of hunger and cold, and equally sharing with the common soldiers and performing a military strategy, etc., it is all bosh, nay worse, it is an attempt to rob General Clark of the praise which rightfully belonged to him and which Colonel Vigo would spurn with disdain if he were living.

Colonel Vigo had merit enough of his own without his friends washing to have General Clark robbed of his just meed of praise on Vigo's account. As to the claims of Colonel Vigo, his mistake was in seeking redress of the United States through congress instead of Virginia, through her courts. The claim as now pending is properly before the Court of Claims and it is hoped will soon reach a favorable termination.

D. E. H. says: "In the latter part of Colonel Vigo's life he was defrauded out of a large portion of his land by specu-

lators." The writer uses the word defrauded too freely and uses it where it makes a false impression. Colonel Vigo lost none of his lands by speculators in the latter part of his life. But in the prime of his life, by an unfortunate partnership with the Miami Fur Company, he met with heavy losses. The company was to furnish the goods and Colonel Vigo was to buy the pelts. They charged him with the goods furnished but failed to give him credit for the pelts he returned and in the final settlement of their accounts nearly all of his land passed into the hands of the Miami Fur Company. As to the claims on Survey No. 5 or the piece in the upper end of town, the heirs have nothing to do with it, as it passed into the hands of speculators more than a year ago, and it is they and not the heirs who have done all the lawing and I learn that their prospect is good for getting the land and obtaining from the government a patent therefor.

The latter portion of D. E. H.'s article is but a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation. It is not true that his friends deserted him in the time of need. It is not true that in his last days "he was cared for by a few poor, honest laborers and farmers, comrades of his in the great struggle for independence."

It is not true that L. L. Watson, of the Junction House, contributed aid and support to make his last days happy and comfortable. Colonel Vigo had his room and his home with me on the farm where I now live, but through the persuasion of friends he moved to town and for a time lived with Mrs. Betsy LaPlante, whom he had raised from childhood as one of his own family. My brother, Francis Vigo McKee, returning from Georgia with his wife and settling in Vincennes, the Colonel lived the latter portion of his life with him where he was abundantly supplied with all the comforts of life and was in his last hours watched over and nursed and cared for by kind friends, loving hearts, and no want of his was left unsupplied that was in the power of man to supply. I stood at his bedside and saw him breathe his last.

I would advise D. E. H. when he undertakes to write history again to be a little more careful from whom he receives his information and be careful that it does not come from

some interested speculator who has an axe to grind and be careful to make no statement that would reflect upon the living friends and relatives as well as those whom he would wish to benefit.

A. B. McKee

Published in the Vincennes *Weekly Times*, November 14, 1874.

# A Discourse Delivered at the Funeral of Rev. James Aikman Carnahan. of Dayton, Ind.

By JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, President of Wabash College.<sup>1</sup>

I have selected two verses of the Holy Scripture as an appropriate text for this discourse, which is designed as a memorial of the late venerable and beloved father, the Rev. James Aikman Carnahan, known widely as

## "FATHER CARNAHAN OF DAYTON."

And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, thou shalt be buried in a good old age. *Gen. 15:15*

Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season. *Job. 5:26.*

Both these verses express a great truth very beautifully, that God loves a good man, and often shows this by bestowing on him "a good old age," by letting him come to his grave in a full age like a sheaf of ripe wheat that is ready for the garner.

Some people speak contemptuously of this principle with its promised blessing, as if neither is of any practical value. They even quote the description of old age as given by Solomon in the 12th *Ecclesiastes*, as proving their assertion true.

I admit that picture to be a very gloomy one. It almost makes one shudder to read it. And well it might, for it is

<sup>1</sup> A word of apology for this discourse is due on this occasion. It may seem to be asking of you, young men, an unusual indulgence to listen to a discourse concerning an old man with whom very few were personally acquainted.

But in the first place it is not straining a point for us who just now constitute the working center of the College which this man helped to found, to pay a deserved tribute to his memory. In so doing we act officially and representatively for all the men who have helped to build up Wabash College, and also all those who have been educated in its halls.

And in the second place as we learn some of the best lessons of life by looking at the lives of men, or at life actually lived, it is to be hoped that it will be a source of improvement to the young, as well as those older, to look on the life of a venerable and good man who has "come to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season." This is published in the *Magazine* as an example of the better class of old time funeral orations.

the description of the old age of a bad man, a man that has lived a bad, sensual life, and has grown old in sin.

But certainly the Lord was not promising to Abraham such a dreary doom, when he said "Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, thou shalt be buried in a good old age." Surely the picture which Solomon drew of the closing scenes of a wicked old man's life was not meant to contradict that which Eliphaz drew of a good old man's life when he said "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season." Nay, Solomon himself had said when, as a young man, he wrote the *Proverbs*, "The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness;" and again, "the beauty of old men is the grey head." So also the Psalmist expressed it when he not only said, "the righteous shall flourish like the palm tree; he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon," but, he added, as if stating a very beautiful and desirable fact that should mark the righteous man, "Those that he planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God; they shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing."

Let me illustrate this for a moment: Is there anything more beautiful than the picture of the late venerable Dr. Skinner of New York, as for the last time one evening he stood among his brethren of the Chi Alpha just as they were about to part with a song and prayer? There stood the sweet old man, with beaming face, almost "as it had been the face of an angel," as he repeated from memory all the hymn of which I will repeat the closing stanza:

My Jesus as thou wilt!  
All shall be well with me;  
Each changing future scene,  
I gladly trust to thee;  
Straight to my home above  
I travel calmly on,  
And sing in life or death,  
My Lord, Thy will be done!

Only a week before his own death he wrote these words concerning the death of another grand old man, the Rev. Albert Barnes, whose funeral he had just been attending:

What a glorious death was that of Albert Barnes! It holds me wondering and praising God for his singular grace to that remarkable man. Is it possible that such a death is to be mine? Is such a mercy in reserve for me? Pray for me, my dear friend, that die, when, or where, or how I may, I may glorify God in dying.

And in a few days he was dying, but "his lips broke forth in the most wonderful expressions of love to his Savior." And the burden of all his words was this, "My Jesus, as thou wilt!"

Why, my friends, there could be no propriety whatever in reading Solomon's description of the dreary old age of a bad man at the funeral of one who was as "Paul the aged," or "John the aged," or such an old man as I have just named who, as he was entering the deep shadow, exclaimed, "My Jesus as thou wilt," and who, when he had almost disappeared from human sight, was still heard murmuring the same expression of loving submission, "My Jesus, as thou wilt!"

Now, my friends, I did not propose to preach a funeral sermon, but only to briefly show you in a very imperfect way why it seems to me very beautiful when an aged saint goes to his fathers in peace, and is buried in a good old age; why I would as soon grieve and break my heart as I look out over the ripened wheat which the reaper is gathering as to grieve and break my heart when I see an aged saint "coming to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

The leading dates in his life which occasions these remarks are these:

The Rev. James Aikman Carnahan was the descendent of Scotch-Irish ancestors who settled in Pennsylvania about 1740. His grandfather settled in Virginia and followed teaching. In 1790 his grandparents removed to Kentucky. He himself was born in Nicholas county, Kentucky, December 2, 1802, and died at Dayton, Indiana, January 19, 1879, in the 77th year of his age.

In September, 1817, he became a Christian and united with the Presbyterian church of Concord, Kentucky. He was then not quite 15 years old.

In 1818 his father removed to Davies county, Indiana, and cleared up a farm. In this hard work he was assisted by his

son James three years. And the hard work matured him into a man of very remarkable physical strength.

In December, 1821, he began in earnest the attempt to realize the high destiny to which his parents had devoted him in baptism, and to which he had devoted himself when he was converted to God. With a view to preparing himself for the gospel ministry, at the time named—December, 1821—he began his studies in the academy of Livonia, Indiana, taught by the Rev. William W. Martin. He prosecuted there his studies with great vigor three years, and in January, 1825, placed himself under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Blackburn and Prof. Butler at Louisville. He remained there a little more than a year, pursuing collegiate studies. In May, 1826, he went to Auburn, New York, and in September entered the Theological seminary, over which Dr. James Richards presided. He held this great preacher and theologian in the most profound veneration. For three years he remained in the seminary, not missing an exercise of any kind.

July 1, 1829, he was licensed and also ordained, *sine titulo*, at East Geneva, New York, and at once returned to Indiana. He preached at various places in southern Indiana until November when he visited Crawfordsville and LaFayette. Having entered into an arrangement to supply the church at LaFayette, he returned to Davies county and on the 30th of January, 1830, was married to Miss Isabella Lynn of Livonia. The next day the young couple began their journey on horseback to LaFayette, a distance of about 150 miles.

He began his labors at LaFayette in February, 1830, and extended his missionary tours in one direction as far as Monticello where he had several members.

Among his members at LaFayette when he was about dissolving his connection with that church were 49 who resided in Dayton, some seven miles distant. In April, 1834, these were organized into a church, and on the 1st of May he began his labors there. Inasmuch as the new church at Dayton was composed of members whose pastor he had already been for four years, we may regard his ministry with the Dayton church as really beginning in February, 1830. Literally it began May, 1834, but really February, 1830. From January,

1847, to April, 1848, he acted as agent for the college, a period of fifteen months. In 1852, against the wishes of his church, he went to Delphi to minister to that church and one at Pittsburgh, two or three miles away. At the end of four years he returned to his first love at Dayton, and remained there until his death. For three years past he has been too feeble to preach steadily and yet the church regarded him as a *Pastor Emeritus*. So that from July 1, 1829, when he was ordained until January 19, 1879, when he died, his entire ministry included 49 years and 7 months. His connection with the Dayton church, including the 4 years at LaFayette and deducting his time in service of the college covered nearly forty-four years.

If we subtract the four years at LaFayette, the year and a quarter at the college, the four at Delphi, and the three since he ceased active labor, his labor of thirty-seven solid years in the one church remains. But his church at Dayton allows no such deduction for the last three years. His ministry there is forty-one years.

The fact is as honorable to the church as it is to him, and it is a conspicuous and remarkable fact that shall lose nothing by time.

When our venerated father Carnahan began his labors in this region it was a wilderness. Crawfordsville was only eight years old, LaFayette five, Indianapolis ten, Terre Haute ten, Delphi two, Logansport a trading post of three years old with thirty or forty families, and in the entire county beside, eight or ten families more. "Out of Logansport and Fort Wayne there were not in Indiana north of the Wabash, three hundred inhabitants."

The pioneer ministers who planted Presbyterian churches in the wilderness were not ordinary men. Among them were John Ross and James Chute at Fort Wayne, Martin M. Post at Logansport, James Crawford at LaFayette, Carnahan at Dayton, Edmund O. Hovey at Coalcreek, James Thomson at Crawfordsville, John S. Thomson at Waveland, Ransom Hawley at Putnamville, John Finley Crow at Hanover, James H. Johnson at Madison, William W. Martin at Livonia, John McElroy Dickey at Washington, Stuart at Rushville, Caleb Mills

at Wabash College, and others of whom these are fair representatives, men eminently fitted to do a hard and difficult work. They endured hardness as good soldiers, and the record of what they endured and accomplished cannot fail to excite both our admiration and gratitude.

But I must not dwell longer on these abundant labors in the planting of churches, building of meeting houses, the preaching of the word in the destitute places in the midst of great hardships. In these labors our deceased Father Carnahan was not a whit behind any of his noble peers. The fruits of his labor not only at LaFayette, Delphi and Dayton, but in his frequent and extensive missionary journeys, the Omnipotent alone can value, but we know enough to be sure that these fruits were abundant and precious.

And here I may be indulged in a brief reference to the man of whom I am now speaking. In person he was six feet in stature and very erect. He was a large and muscular man, and famous for his strength and agility. He was a clear and logical thinker and ready to give a reason for his opinions. He was a man of deep religious convictions, and was one of the most earnest of preachers. Physically a strong and hardy man, and religiously deep in earnest, it was to him no hardship to traverse large sections of the country at all seasons of the year to preach the gospel he loved and believed. He would ride all day on horseback in the worst weather and over the worst roads and preach with wonderful vigor at night in a cabin, schoolhouse or church. He and James Thomson were "Sons of Thunder" in this wilderness. They often wrought together in sacramental meetings, camp meetings, and protracted meetings, and with great success.

Whilst in LaFayette February 21, 1831, he preached a sermon that led the late Rev. Geo. D. Miller to Christ and to a life of great usefulness in the ministry. He one day met a young man, Alexander Lemon, in the street and said to him, "are you a Christian?" And when Mr. L. answered that he was not, said Mr. C. to him with deep emotion, "it is a dreadful thing to be a sinner in such a world and refuse to become a Christian!" The result was his conversion, and a faithful ministry until his death.

It would be easy to name churches he planted, revivals he conducted, and to multiply incidents illustrating his unusual energy and success in his chosen vocation, but I must desist.

Were I to rest here the record would be a remarkable one, but I must add one item which will make his name to abide in history as long as the college he aided be found. I admit the importance of his work as a preacher, a pastor, and an organizer of churches. We cannot readily exaggerate the importance of his mission in these respects. But when James and John Thomson, Edmund O. Hovey, James A. Carnahan and John M. Ellis with the Elders John Gilliland, McConnell and William Robinson met to consider the question of founding a Christian college, when after a devout and careful examination of all the facts they resolved to found a college, and when in token of their dependence on God and also as the sign that they were devoting all they did to God, they knelt in the snow on the spot on which they proposed to build that college—our venerable Father Carnahan and his associates did the greatest act of their lives. That act will grow more and more illustrious as the years roll away and the institution they founded shall grow stronger and larger in the fulfillment of their beneficent purposes.

The interesting convention resulting in this great purpose, occurred November 21st, 1832, forty-six years ago, and the same day, Williamson Dunn, Edmund O. Hovey, James Thomson, John S. Thomson, James A. Carnahan, Martin M. Post, Samuel G. Lowry and John Gilliland were elected Trustees of the college. Of these eight men Carnahan and Hovey were continued trustees by repeated re-election until their death. When Father Carnahan died the last survivor of the founders, and of the first board of trustees passed away. Most happy were they, especially those who were active in the enterprise, in being honored as the founders, the trustees and the life long friends of Wabash college. And as it seems to me no more appropriate epitaph can be carved on the stone that shall mark the grave of Carnahan than this: A Devout Christian, an able Pioneer Missionary, and one of the Founders of Wabash College!

Truly he was a noble man in person, noble in mind, noble in purity, noble in Christian love, noble in Christian work,

noble in his calling, noble in what he helped to do for religion and education, noble in his life, and as you look on him in the repose of death you look on one who even in death seems "every inch a man."

These late years have been telling on the ranks of our Pioneer ministers. Ross, Post, Little, Johnson, Hovey and Carnahan have entered into rest. They lived to see "the wilderness blossom" and "the thirsty land springs of water." They wrought for God and man gloriously, and one by one they have been passing away crowned with blessings both from God and man. One by one they have gone to their fathers in peace, and have been buried in a good old age. We loved and honored them, and yet as we see them coming to the grave in a full age like as a shock of corn cometh in his season, we will not lament.

As President Edwards says, "Now they have got home; they were never home before." And as John Bunyan says, "I heard the bells of the city ring for joy as they entered it." And as Paul says, "The earthly house of their tabernacle is dissolved and they are in the house of God not made with hands eternal in the heaven." And as Jesus himself said, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

And so as we tenderly convey these mortal remains of our friend to the grave, we will recall what he was in life, and what he did, and Whom not having seen he loved, and the eternal heaven to which he has come, we will thank God and take courage.

"And I heard a voice saying unto me, write 'blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth,' yea, saith the Spirit that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

## Reviews and Notes

### STATE PUBLICATIONS

In harmony with the tendency in other states Indiana is giving more attention to the character of its state publications. Twenty years ago copy seems to have been furnished the state printer by the ton. Departmental or board reports frequently ran beyond 1,000 pages. The *Senate Journal* contained as high as 3,000 pages; the *Documentary Journal* as high as 5,000 pages. Much of this material was and remains historically valuable (though unavailable in the unpaged and unindexed volumes), but a great deal of it was mere duplication or insignificant detail. Most of this printing is now under the jurisdiction of the Legislative Reference Bureau, directed by Charles Kettleborough. The amount of printing is reduced to perhaps one-tenth its former volume and the character improved in about inverse proportion.

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*Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1922*, by the Legislative Reference Bureau under the direction of Governor Warren T. McCray. Indianapolis, 1923, pp. 1239.

This is the leading state publication and contains the annual review of the state government for the year. It is unnecessary to describe this volume in detail. Each departmental head, each commission, each board and bureau employed, wholly or in part in state service is required to furnish the Legislative Reference Bureau a report of its work. These reports are edited, organized and standardized before being sent to press. The list of officers, duties and the work accomplished are set out together with the cost. The volume compares very favorably with those published in other states—as good as the best. Copies should be preserved in all libraries in the state and especially should it be available to all high school students studying our government. With this volume at hand, and without cost, there is no excuse for the ignorance about our state government. Too many of us know what

it ought to be and do and too few know what it is and is doing. The department of education is right in recommending the *Year Book* as the best school text for the study of civics.

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### INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

When Dr. John W. Oliver resigned as secretary of the Indiana Historical Commission Prof. Harlow Lindley of Earlham, former state archivist, was selected to take his place. Besides carrying on the work already begun by Dr. Oliver, Mr. Lindley is making an effort to organize the different historical workers and agencies of the state to secure better co-operation. It is hoped to secure greater permanent results in proportion to the outlay in work and money. Beginning with November, the Commission will publish the *Indiana History Bulletin* in order to keep those interested posted in what the Commission is doing. Heretofore, the Commission has published occasional bulletins, containing announcements, programs, proceedings and papers. There is grave danger in too many kindred, disconnected publications. From the standpoint of the outstate historian this duplication of titles becomes confusing. Students of history regret, for instance, that the old *Pioneer and Historical Collections* of Michigan has been discontinued. The same is true with the publications in Illinois, Virginia, North Carolina and Iowa.

The Indiana Historical Commission has published during the past year four volumes all creditable to the state and the Commission. If this work can be kept up we will in time have a respectable historical literature of the state.

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Indiana Historical Collections XI, Biographical Series I,  
*George W. Julian*, by Grace Julian Clarke. Indianapolis,  
1923, pp. 456.

As a personal history of an interesting character this is a pleasing and valuable narrative. The style is plain and the story moves on at a uniform gait. There is little philosophizing, explanation or defense. It could hardly be expected that hostile criticism would be indulged in by the author. The

author has at her command ample material; how completely or how well she has used it cannot be ascertained. Mr. Julian kept a diary during a large part of his life. The small part of it published is intensely interesting and historically of high value.

Only a few men have passed through and participated in more significant social and political struggles than Mr. Julian. He successively affiliated with the Whig, Free Soil, Democratic, Know-Nothing, Republican, Liberal Republican, Democratic and Sound Money parties. To say he belonged to any of these parties would hardly be the truth. His Gallic temper never permitted complete fellowship in any organization. He seems to have had a similar experience religiously. He entertained all the movements which agitated the church during his life, without embracing either. His virile mind found faults and objections to all organizations and his imperious will made it impossible fully to recognize any authority. He seems to have taken active side on all public questions without ever submitting to the discipline necessary for accomplishment. His championships often led him into strange company as when he supported Van Buren in 1848, Tilden in 1876, Cleveland in 1884 and virtually McKinley in 1896. A man of less earnestness would have enjoyed the humor of these situations. As a subject of study in political conduct his life is most suggestive. Could he have accomplished more by conforming to party discipline and working in harness, by remaining loyally with the Whig and Republican parties, is a question which of course cannot be determined. Was the Abolition agitation a bankruptcy of statesmanship or was it wise, are questions involved. Did these vitriolic agitators precipitate a bloody civil war from what with more patient statesmanship would have passed by as a peaceful revolution are questions which history will be required to give an opinion on later. Whether he helped the statesmanship of Lincoln or hindered it. Whatever the answer to these, Mr. Julian stands out as a bold uncompromising knight errant. He began the battle before he was of age and died after a 60 year war, pen in hand. His enemies were always bad men, rebels, assassins, cutthroats, sinners of all grades and conditions. In

this respect he was utterly unlike Webster, Clay, Washington or Lincoln, and more resembled the frontier preacher. While a volume of his papers including his diary would perhaps be more valuable, the present small volume is a welcome addition to our too scant political literature.

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Vol. III, Indiana World War Records, *A Sergeant's Diary in the World War*, by ELMER FRANK STRAUB. Published by Indiana Historical Commission, Indianapolis, 1923. Price \$1.50.

Sergeant Straub was an enlisted man in the 150th Field artillery, Forty-second or Rainbow division. He was a member of the commander's detail. He was usually on scout detail and his special work was to sketch the sector occupied by the battery and lay the guns. The battery was mobilized at Fort Benjamin Harrison July, 1917, and arrived in France October 31 following. It was placed on the front at Chateau Thierry July 22, 1918, and supported the battle line all the way through Vaux Woods, Robecourt, Seicheprey, Troyon, Montfaucon Cierges and Harricourt.

As a close-up picture of the Argonne battle it is unexcelled. The artillery scouts were just back of the front line and while they did not see the first line struggle they were continually in the wreckage of the battle. Villages were still burning, men, dead, wounded or dying, were in sight at all times. This is a day-to-day account and holds ones attention like an oral tale. The endless detail of army life, the hardships of the front, the rustling for food and supplies are told in a way never even hinted in the histories.

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Indiana Historical Society Publication, Vol. VII, No. 10,  
*Abraham Lincoln—Lawyer*, by Charles W. Moores, Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Reprinted from the proceedings of the American Bar Association, 1910, and enlarged, pp. 52.

Mr. Moores has tried to present a particular view of certain phases of Lincoln's life stressing especially his life as

a lawyer. Many students of Lincoln have had little opportunity to come in contact with facts concerning his life as a lawyer. For instance few people are aware that Lincoln became the recognized leader of the Illinois bar, as Mr. Moore points out.

The author began his story with a reference to the second inaugural, then he briefly reviews his boyhood and education showing particularly his love for the study of law.

He states that Lincoln had the same educational opportunities that other Hoosier boys had. In contrast to this opinion many authors stress the statement that Lincoln had no educational opportunities and insist or attempt to make the ordinary student believe that his opportunities were below those of his youthful comrades. Passing rapidly over the period of his legal preparation he elaborates on his ability in his chosen field, specially his legal practice and his speech-making trips. The author however need not have reflected on Washington's ability, in trying to excuse Lincoln from mistakes made in writing out his pleadings in law cases.

It is set forth very plainly and forcibly that Lincoln refused to take the cases which he did not think right and the author seems to prove this by the evidence he cites; however, it has been ascertained that Lincoln's cases were of many kinds and that like other lawyers he was not averse to taking cases that were questionable.

The author has a good style and presents about the right amount of humor to keep the reader in a happy mood. He is clear, concise and the facts are so worked in as not to become boresome. On the whole the pamphlet is valuable not only to students of Lincoln and history but to the general reader as well.

RALPH H. OGLE

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*Handbook of Indiana Geology*, by Drs. W. N. LOGAN, E. R. CUMMINGS, C. A. MALOTT, S. S. VISHER, W. M. TUCKER and J. R. REEVES. Published by the Department of Conservation, Indiana, Indianapolis, 1922, pp. 1120.

For a number of years the members of the Department of Geology, Indiana University, have been preparing the manuscript for this volume. The subject was divided so that

each contributor worked in his special field. Part I, 58 pages, is devoted to Geography by Dr. Visher; Part II, 198 pages, is devoted to Physiography by Dr. Malott; Part III, 146 pages, is devoted to Hydrology by Dr. Tucker; Part IV, 168 pages, is devoted to Nomenclature and Description of the Geological Formations of Indiana by Dr. Cummings, and Part V, 550 pages, is devoted to Economic Geology of Indiana by Dr. Logan.

The volume represents investigations carried on by different men during the last 20 years. Active preparation of manuscript and illustrations has required about two years. There are about 300 maps, tables and illustrations, many of them full page and some folded. An envelope in the back of the volume contains three maps, one a map of the Coal Field, 19x40 inches, a Topographic map of the state, 24x36 inches, and a Drainage map, 19x28 inches. The *Handbook* is designed to meet two needs especially, a course of general scientific information concerning the state and to give possible investors reliable information on the mineral resources of the state. Under the heading Geography, Dr. Visher discusses Area, Quality of Land, Climate, Agriculture, Transportation, Population and Manufacturing. Dr. Malott, under Physiography, discusses General Drainage (River basins), Topographic condition (dividing the state into 9 geographical sections), and Physiographic Development (how the land was made). Dr. Tucker, under Hydrology, discusses lakes and rivers from the standpoint of drainage, water power, flood control, irrigation, city water supply, sewage disposal and related topics. Dr. Cummings treats the Geological Formations of the state from a strictly scientific or stratigraphic standpoint. This paper contains an excellent historical review of the work done by geologists in Indiana. A descriptive bibliography of 36 pages, arranged chronologically and alphabetically, containing upwards of 800 titles shows the amount of work done in the Indiana field. No other science has made so good a showing. A comparison will show how insignificant has been the work done in the field of history, though history is perhaps as great a factor in the welfare of the state.

The Economic Geology of the state as treated by Dr. Logan is a scientific exposition of the mineral resources of the state

taken by counties and smaller localities. Stone, Cement, Coal, Clays, Kaolin, Iron, Lime, Marl, Mineral Waters, Oil, Gas, Peat, Pyrite, Road Materials, Sands, Fertilizers and less valuable products are discussed in order.

The discussion throughout though strictly scientific is simple and easily understood. Altogether the state has not published a more valuable volume.

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*The American Struggle for the British West India Carrying Trade*, by F. LEE BENNS, Assistant Professor of History in Indiana University. Indiana University Studies X, Bloomington, 1923, pp. 207.

This book deals with a period the American History from 1815 to 1830. So thoroughly and scholarly did Dr. Benns do this work that the American Historical Association awarded him the Justin Winsor Prize in American History for 1920.

In order to explain properly our relations with Great Britain, concerning the West India trade, the author went back to the year 1783; he showed that the war of 1812 did not settle this question with Great Britain, and that the real trouble came up during the period of 1815 to 1830. During that time we had one of our greatest diplomatic contests with Great Britain.

In discussing this contest the author has preserved an impartial attitude showing how unreasonable our government was at times; on the other hand, he also shows how unreasonable the British ministers were, at certain other times.

A great deal of space is devoted to explaining the meaning of diplomatic notes and the interviews held between the diplomats of the two countries. Newspapers are frequently quoted to show trend of public opinion concerning the different agreements, and legislative acts by each nation.

The author seems to have used practically all source material available on this subject. The explanations are usually clear. The political bearing this question had on the election of 1828 is emphasized. The book is clear, interesting, unbiased, well-organized and deals with a subject and period that have so far received little emphasis in American history.

G. S. RUST

*The Economic Geography of Indiana*, by Stephen S. Visher,  
Associate-Professor of Geography, Indiana University.  
New York, 1923, pp. 225.

Economic Geography is the study of the production of a surplus of the different commodities in a given region and the creation of a market for these elsewhere. It answers the question "What can this region (or any other region) produce if properly developed, and what additional things can it afford to buy from other regions?"

The things to be considered are: location, climate, natural resources, population, agriculture and industrial development. Dr. Visher has taken these subjects up in order and has gone into detail.

He deals quite adequately with the climate of Indiana as compared with other states and its variations of temperature the highest and lowest, daily range, summer and winter and the effect the variation has on production. The rainfall, winds, tornadoes and their effects on agriculture and industry are discussed quite fully.

The natural resources, the minerals, gas, oil, oil shale, building stone, other limestones, clays, iron, marl, peat, gravel, sand and the water power and their connection with the different industries are discussed.

The population is discussed in regard to distribution and the causes of such distribution.

Agricultural questions are discussed under general farming, chief crops, special crops, bases of agriculture, climate favoring farming, character of farms (number, size and value) farm homes and lives, farm equipment, crops in comparison with other states, farm and dairy animals, fruit, etc.

His study of industry is quite extensive in his chapters on industry, manufacturing and commerce. In these chapters he takes up the use of coal, oil, gas, stones (limestone), sand products, glass, coke, iron, petroleum, refining, mineral water, caves and their part in carrying on our different industries.

L. L. NEWTON

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The state has lost a faithful servant in the resignation of Amos W. Butler, secretary of the State Board of Charities. During the twenty-five years of his service this department

of the state government has become a model among the states. December 2, 1922, the friends of Mr. Butler gathered to a dinner in honor of his service. The speeches made on this occasion were gathered into a pamphlet entitled *Testimonial to Amos W. Butler*.

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Indiana a Century Ago is the title of an address by Everett Sanders, representative in Congress from the Fifth Indiana district, delivered at a banquet of the Indiana Club at the McAlpin Hotel, New York City, December 12, 1922.

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Duty of a State to enforce the eighteenth Amendment is the title of an argument by Wayne B. Wheeler, Edward B. Dunford and Orville S. Poland. This is an answer to the position taken by the New York that the enforcement of the Volstead act was of no concern to the state individually.

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Benjamin F. Stuart and John W. Hanna are authors of a 24 page pamphlet on the History of Burnettsville Schools. The story goes back to 1836 when the first schoolhouse was erected at the place. The chief interest attaches to the normal school founded there in 1858 by Joseph L. Baldwin, who later gained distinction as president of the Kirksville, Mo., Normal.

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*An Account of Fulton County From Its Organization*, edited by HENRY A. BARNHART, Dayton, O., 1923, pp. 305.

This history was edited by Hon. A. Barnhart of Rochester, Indiana, and ex-congressman from the Thirteenth Indiana district and a life long citizen of Fulton county. He is a man well qualified to edit such a history—a fact well proven after a close examination of the volume.

It contains twelve chapters dealing with the geology and topography of the county, its early settlement, its organization, its transportation, its military life, its educational record, manufacturing and commerce, its physicians and public health, church and welfare work, a history of Akron and Henry town-

ship, written by Mrs. Ina Brundredge, a very capable lady and a life long citizen of the township, and a portion of the book is devoted to biographical history of some of the prominent persons in the county.

The history contains neither an index or a preface. Many books are being written however in these days without prefaces, but an index to a book is very essential and should be included even in the face of additional cost.

This county history has done and will do all that a history of this type is supposed to do; namely, give local citizens, who so desire, a chance to give the history of themselves and families to the public in written form, and to preserve the record of the history of the county, as well as to stimulate an interest therein by the residents and citizens of this political unit.

It contains a photograph of the editor on a front page and a plate between pages forty-eight and forty-nine showing the county courthouse and a memorial tablet made in honor of the Fulton County Sons who gave their lives in the World War. The book is neatly bound in blue buckram and is of the same style both internally and externally as is the History of Indiana, of which it forms Volume III. The *Fulton County History* is made to sell in a set with this particular History of Indiana.

C. L. KUHN

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*History of Vigo County From Its Organization*, by WILLIAM F. CRONIN, Dayton, O., 1922, pp. 496.

The actual settlement of Terre Haute and so the local history of the county begins in 1816, the same year as the admission of the state. However the locality had been the scene of an Indian battle in earlier days and nearby is the site of Fort Harrison one of the most historic spots in territorial Indiana. The editor, Mr. Cronin, has been in the newspaper business at Terre Haute for 20 years and is well acquainted with its history. The volume is fully up to standard. The author has corrected some errors in earlier histories and brought the account down to the present. There are 335 pages of biographies. These as a rule constitute the most valuable part of a county history and make such histories worth while from the public standpoint.

*History of St. Joseph County From Its Organization*, by JOHN B. STOLL, Dayton, O., 1923, pp. 565.

This volume follows the conventional lines of the county history. Geology, Topography, Early Settlement, Organization, County and City Government, Transportation, Banks and Banking, Physicians and Public Health, Education, Churches, Military, Press, Manufacturing and Commerce are taken up in order. There follow 390 pages of personal biographies. Those acquainted with this line of historical work know about what to expect in a county history. Its editorship by John B. Stoll is a guaranty of its workmanship. The editor is perhaps the best known newspaper man in Indiana at present. A number of full page illustrations are included. The manager of the publishing company, Selwyn Brant, began the work in Indiana over 30 years ago and some of our best county histories, written in the late eighties, bear his signature.

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*The Real Lincoln, a Portrait* by JESSE W. WEIK. Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1922, pp. 314.

In *The Real Lincoln* the author has laboriously and conscientiously endeavored to present the human side of Lincoln, to show the incidents of his domestic and home life, and especially to present his activities as a lawyer, being of the opinion that the public should know more of his Springfield environment; thoroughly convinced that such a work would give a clearer and more definite portrait of one of the greatest characters of history. Mr. Weik is well fitted for such a work. He assisted Herndon in the writing of his book upon Lincoln, and as a result grew so enthusiastic over the subject that it became the all absorbing interest of his life. He has drawn largely upon old records wherever available, consulted acquaintances of Lincoln, and visiting the various places where the Lincolns lived; in fact he has exhausted all of the known sources of information in his search for the truth. As a result he has produced a book that is authentic and uncolored by any prejudices of the writer. The book covers the period from Lincoln's boyhood until his departure for Washington to become president. It is well written, and con-

tains twenty-three illustrations. Due to reproducing a number of letters and various parts of records and accounts relative to law practice and court proceedings the work seems somewhat disconnected. The author no doubt realized this, but sacrificed smoothness for evidence. In giving opinions of others Mr. Weik has so indicated them as such whenever they could not be substantiated. Besides giving many new facts the author has succeeded in correcting wrong ideas and impressions now held by many persons. On the whole the book will make a valuable addition to the literature already produced upon this notable figure.

ALMON R. BUIS

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*The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri.* Edited by BUEL LEOPARD, A. M., and FLOYD SHOEMAKER, A. M., Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Three Volumes, Columbia, Missouri, 1922, pp. 526, 528, 541.

The first volume contains the messages of Governors Alexander McNair, Frederick Bates, Abraham J. Williams, John Miller, Daniel Dunklin, Lilburn W. Boggs and Thomas Reynolds, covering the period from September 20, 1820, to September 23, 1843. In the selections the editors have confined themselves strictly to public documents. These are Regular Messages, Veto Messages, Special Messages, Proclamations, and memoranda of Proclamations and writs of election. Nearly all the messages have been taken from the *Journal of the Senate*.

The second volume contains the messages of Meredith M. Marmaduke, John E. Edwards, Austin A. King and Sterlin Price and covers the period from November 18, 1844, to November 15, 1856. Volume III includes messages of Governors Trustin Polk, Hancock Lee Jackson, Robert M. Stewart, Claiborne Fox Jackson and Hamilton R. Gamble, covering the period from January 5, 1857, to October 15, 1863. The three volumes furnish an interesting and valuable source of history not only for Missourians but for the whole nation. Many significant questions of national history from the Mis-

souri Compromise to the Dred Scott Decision relate directly to the history of this state.

Of the sixteen governors whose messages are here printed six were born in Virginia, five in Kentucky of Virginia parents, one each in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Delaware and New York.

Other than the brief biographies of the governors there is no explanatory matter. It seems in hundreds of cases explanatory footnotes would have added greatly to the value of these papers. In general the documents are given in chronological order but not always. A brief calendar or table of contents is given but no index. It is presumed the index for the whole set will be given when the work is completed. The editing seems good, the paper, printing and binding are excellent—a very creditable addition to our Missouri collection.

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*The British In Iowa*, by JACOB VAN DER ZEE, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922, pp. 340.

The story is divided into two essays: The first, "British Emigrants to Iowa", is relatively short and relates to the general character and distribution of the English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh elements in the population. The second essay, "The British Invasion of Northwestern Iowa", takes up a more detailed study of the English, especially in connection with the development of Le Mars and vicinity.

Among the English pioneers was William Brooks Close, a popular Cambridge graduate. Hopeful of the future, he brought two of his brothers to Iowa and together they invested in land. So enthusiastic and influential were these brothers and the men associated with them that any treatment of the Le Mars settlement must center around the activities of these men. The fact is emphasized that the early English settlers were of the better educated and wealthier class who were able to carry on a rapid development. The author does not supply a map of the state. There are times, however, when the reader might wish to consult a map. We become acquainted with the pioneers and their ideas through the columns of the local

newspaper. Several news articles and letters of prominent men are connected with the story in such a way as to improve the account greatly.

HERMAN A. STEELE.

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*The Autobiography of David Crockett.* With an Introduction by HAMLIN GARLAND. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923, pp. 328.

This book consists of three main divisions: A Narrative of the life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee; An account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East; and Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas. The Autobiography gives an account of his life from boyhood up to the time of his greatest political prominence about 1834. This part is the most tedious reading of the entire book because of so many insignificant details. Especially is this true in his account of the Indian fighting during the War of 1812. The greatest value of this part is the real pioneer attitude in Indian warfare. The dynamic characteristic of "retaliation" to the fullest degree is illustrated in a graphic way.

Part two is a narrative of the "border hero" touring the Middle Atlantic and New England states. This account is fascinating because of the abounding humor of this backwoodsman and the interesting events that are related. The greatest value that one receives from this part is the comparison brought to one's mind in seeing the trail-blazer of the west meeting the blue bloods of the east. Then the loyalty of David Crockett to his frontier peeps out on every page of his reflections.

Part three is generally considered as not being either of David Crockett's writing or dictation. Nevertheless this part is believed to be substantially true and whether authentic or not it certainly is very entertaining reading.

The great value to be received from this book is the real, typical pioneer atmosphere and spirit that one gleans from it.

David Crockett is not reticent in his own praise, however that is only typical of men of his type. He was a real explorer of the wilds and he knew it and why should he hide the fact. It brings out in a real example how the hunter

spirit drew this type of frontiersman on and on opening up new highways of migration. The pitiful scene was the continual clinging on of the trail-blazer's family in trying to follow in the wake of his adventurous spirit. Another important characteristic that is brought out is the attitude of a frontiersman towards enemy and friend. He is a true friend to a friend but nurses the bitterest hate for an enemy. The former is illustrated time and again through the book. The latter has no better illustration than his intense hatred towards the "government", Andrew Jackson. He never misses an opportunity to "take a jibe" at him and where there isn't an opportunity he prepares one. Still another characteristic which the most popular backwoods hero must possess is that of humor. David Crockett had this in abundance. It stood him good aid in many a situation and left a more colorful hero than he otherwise would have been.

As for his style it is considered abominable but in reality it is a part of the charm of the story. One would not be able to grasp the true spirit of David Crockett from a literary masterpiece. We are imbued with the real pioneer spirit far more by obtaining it in his own vernacular.

The introduction by Hamlin Garland gives the true spirit and value of these three accounts. It is the best review and criticism that one can read. He certainly has grasped the significance of them.

W. W. BOYD

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*The Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, for the year 1915-16, deals with the Winnebago Tribe of Indians. It was prepared by Paul Radin, pp. 560.

The volume deals exhaustively with the history and culture of the tribe, known history, archeology, culture, customs, rites, social organization, education, dress, religion, etc. There are 96 illustrations. The home of the tribe was Central Wisconsin from Green Bay and Winnebago lake along Fox and Wisconsin rivers over to La Crosse on the Mississippi. A considerable number of this tribe still live in the north central part of the state.

*Mississippi Valley Beginnings, An Outline of the Earlier History of the West*, by HENRY E. CHAMBERS, Member of Louisiana State Historical Society, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1922, pp. 389.

The treatise is divided into six parts—French, English, Struggle between England and France, Spanish, Downfall of Spanish and American Domination. The author indulges freely in the catchy chapter heads common to historical novelists. *A Bubble and Its Bursting*, *A Pawn and Four Players*, *America's First Scrap of Paper* are illustrative. The author covers the ground usual in western historical literature. His main purpose is interpretative with a greater emphasis than usual on the incidents connected with New Orleans and Louisiana. No new theory of interpretation is presented. A liberal discussion of the "what might have been", a favorite resort with historians, is indulged in. Certain events are featured, it seems, far beyond their relative values. *Camp Salubrity*, the Acadians, the Battle of New Orleans and Jefferson's fantastic names for the western states are instances. The author has neglected much easily accessible source material, especially the investigations of the Illinois historians, Alvord and James. These would have saved him from some ludicrous errors concerning the work of George Rogers Clark. The Canadian sources, especially the Haldimand Papers and the writings of Butterfield would also have improved his narrative. The author is evidently much more interested in conclusions than in evidence, which leads him to a faulty perspective. The author has rightly insisted on more weight being given to the old southwest and this is his most valuable addition to the subject. The paper in the volume would easily have carried twice as much print and this is what his subject most needed.

JOSEPHINE CRAIG

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*The War Purse of Indiana*, by WALTER GREENOUGH, Indianapolis. Indiana Historical Commission, 1922, pp. 278.

This book is the second volume of Indiana World War Records, and the eighth volume of the Indiana Historical Collections. It bears the sub-title, "The Five Liberty Loans

and the War Savings and Thrift Campaigns in Indiana during the World War," which accurately describes the contents of the volume.

The author was not handicapped in his investigation by a dearth of sources but was sometimes embarrassed by the great mass of material, neither "definite nor accurate in many instances" and by the fact that many of the records are "conflicting and contradictory." He wisely recognized that "wars and the people waging them are abnormal" which undoubtedly aided him in writing so sane a treatise so soon after the close of the great world conflict. He refrains from giving undue credit to any class, or group, or community in the raising of the enormous amounts assigned to Indiana in the several great drives, concluding that, "It was the composite of three million Indianians, steeped in the dignity of a hundred years of splendid statehood, and called again to sacrifice," that achieved success.

Any citizen, who lived through the soul-testing and soul-stirring years of the World war will find this modest volume interesting reading. It is a well-balanced, well-authenticated, readable account. Students of the present and of the future will find it a handy and reliable reference. The illustrations consist of seven well-selected posters, typical of those used in the various campaigns.

It is no easy task to write the history of any phase of the World war, however limited, so soon after the event. In the judgment of the reviewer, the funds of the Indiana Historical Commission can be spent to better advantage than in the publication of monographs on the war period. The essential thing at the present is the preservation of the sources. The writing of recent history can well be postponed until after the publication of records and monographs pertaining to earlier periods of the state's history has reached a stage far beyond that attained at present. However, should additional monographs of the World war period be written, it is to be hoped that they will exhibit the same careful workmanship and the same fine spirit as the book under review.

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

*The Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, by CLAUDE J. BOWERS, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1922. Pp. xxi, 506, \$6.00.

The purpose of the author has been to deal "with the brilliant, dramatic, and epochal party battles and the fascinating personalities" of the Jackson period. The result is a historical work which is more interesting and fascinating than a book of fiction. The author succeeds in placing his reader in the atmosphere of the times by means of a realistic opening picture of the Washington City of the Thirties, by the constant use of well chosen dramatic incidents, and by showing the cross currents of politics through quotations from diaries, memoirs, and the contemporary press. Novel chapter titles are used and indicate the expressive language throughout the book; for example, *The Rising of the Masses*, *The Red Terror and the White*, *The Battle of the Gods*, *Political Hydrophobia*. The chapter entitled *Mrs. Eaton Demolishes the Cabinet*, is suggestive of a deliberate purpose on the part of the author to bring in personalities and show the relation of society to politics. To him history is the story of personalites, and party battles are only struggles between leaders, much like personal encounters; for example, *Jackson Breaks With Calhoun*, and *Jackson vs. Biddle*. Nevertheless he asserts that the parties of the time were actuated by "well-defined antagonistic principles and policies." He makes of his hero, Jackson, the champion of the cause of the masses against the aristocracy of wealth and culture.

The author continues in his preface, "It was not until the Jacksonian epoch that we became a democracy in fact. The selection of Presidents then passed from the caucus of the politicians in the capital, to the plain people of the factories, fields, and marts." He admits that the party system which Jackson introduced had "some evils which have persisted through the succeeding years—the penalties of the rule of the people. Demogogy then reared its head and licked its tongue. Class consciousness and hatreds were awakened, and, on the part of the great corporations, intimidation, coercion, and the corrupt use of money to control elections were con-

tributed." These are the evils which he says are the penalties of the rule of the people. Also the school of practical politicians, the widespread use of the press for party propaganda, the policy of "To the victor belong the spoils," are all excused, or else it is pointed out that custom has sanctioned their use.

In dealing with the personalities of the period the author set himself the task of stripping off false moral grandeur and revealing characters "as they really were—warts and all,"—"intensely human in their moral limitations." He is not, however, impartial in his treatment of characters. Clay, especially, and also Calhoun, Webster and the other Whig leaders, suffer by the attack. Quite strangely he finds nothing about Jackson to be condemned, and casts a favorable impression upon his lieutenants, Isaac Hill, Amos Kendall and Thomas H. Benton; and in fact upon all those politicians who identified themselves with the "sons of toil". One can not read the book without the thought that the author unduly reveals his party affiliation and lets his prejudices color his account.

The following list is typical of the vast amount of source material he has used, and from which he quotes quite freely: *Benton's Thirty Years' View*, *Adams' Memoir*, *Hamilton's Reminiscences*, *Van Buren's Autobiography*, *Mrs. Smith's First Forty Years*, *Clay's Works*, *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle*, *Haynes' Diary*, the *Washington Globe* and the *National Intelligencer*. In some cases he gives greater weight to a memoir than to a contemporary account, and has quite ignored a number of historical sources of the period.

The author is a master in the use of the English language. Every sentence is forceful, each incident is pictured clearly and dramatically, and a unique feature is that his characters come to be thought of in terms of the characteristics he applies to them. This last result has been accomplished by a consistent coupling of name and nickname, a rare selection of forceful adjectives, and by numerous brief pen pictures of those characters. The following list is not exhaustive but indicates some of the more important characters of the period,

most of them having been necessarily passed by historians covering a longer period of time. There was Edward Livingston, the cultured diplomat; Roger B. Taney, the courageous fighting party leader for Jackson; John Forsythe, the "greatest debater of his time" and an able secretary of state. George McDuffie the tempestuous leader of the opposition; Hugh Lawson White, the "Cato of the Senate"; John M. Clayton, master of Calhoun and Clay on one occasion; Preston and Binney, polished orators; Major Lewis, master of political details; and Frank Blair, the slashing journalistic champion of the administration. Clay is represented as an unscrupulous politician, master of political intrigue and subterfuge, and with ambitions for the presidency; Calhoun, a disappointed presidential candidate, filled with petty hates and embittered toward the Union; Webster, the noblest of the three, but not above asking for a retainer from the Bank; Adams, proud and reserved, but desiring to serve the people; Tyler, firm in his convictions and deserving of better treatment by historians. His hero, Jackson, is fondly spoken of as "the grim old warrior", "the iron man", or "the popular hero". The Jacksonian party, he says, was made up of the "sons of toil", a unified group with a definite party platform, and was opposed by the "Whig Oligarchy", an "unholy alliance of incongruous elements."

Mr. Bowers has taken old material and presented it in an unusual and fascinating way. While his conclusions and interpretations are interesting, many of his readers will not accept them because partisanship is too apparent. On the whole the book is an important contribution to American historical literature and every student of history and politics will find it worthy of a reading.

CHARLES F. REED

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The annual reports of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union for 1922 and 1923 have been received from Mrs. Benjamin D. Wolcott, vice regent for Indiana. The purpose of this organization is the preservation of the Washington homestead at Mt. Vernon. Over 250,000 visitors to these grounds indicate the reverence of the world for Washington.

Prof. W. M. Tucker read a paper recently to the Indiana Academy of Science on the history of the Lakes near Laporte, Indiana. The interesting feature is the disappearance of these lakes. Since 1829 the lake levels have declined from 10 to 20 feet and where steamboats once found ample water there is now dry land. It has been a great disappointment as well as inconvenience to the city of LaPorte.

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*Historic New Harmony* is the title of a 66 page pamphlet by Mrs. Nora C. Fretageot. This is a "guide" not only to the history and traditions of New Harmony but to the present town itself. The thirty-nine illustrations show most of the historic features in the town as well as many of the best known characters. New Harmony is such a favorite resort for feature writers that an authentic guide such as this is more than ordinarily welcome.

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*The American Pioneer and His Story* is the subject of an address by George F. Parker at the Fifteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and published by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Mr. Parker stresses the vigor and achievements of the pioneers and laments the lack of appropriate historical notice of them.

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